

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

VOL. IV, No. 4

OCTOBER, 1915

TOTAL No. 16

THE CRISIS IN PUBLIC SERVICE REGULATION IN NEW YORK

BY DELOS F. WILCOX, PH.D.¹

New York

WHAT the governors of the state of New York since Hughes have done to the public service commissions is enough to make the angels weep. The commissions were established in 1907 for the purpose of correcting the unspeakable abuses in the management of street railway, gas and electric companies which had developed, especially in New York City, until the stench of them reached to high heaven.

The chief frailties of human nature are well known. It was easy to foresee, and is still easier to after-see, the chief weaknesses of the commission movement. It was clear that if the commissions should come to be manned by men who were politicians in the usually accepted meaning of that term, their efficiency would be destroyed and they would merely get in the way of constructive progress. A politician in public office may be defined as a man who has his mind on something else, while he goes through the motions of performing his official duties; and obviously, with so difficult, complex and technical a task as that of the public service commissions, a politician in such an office would be an unspeakable calamity.

Moreover, the experience of the country with city councils, state legislatures, congress, the railroad commissions and even the courts, had been such as to make it easy to see the imminent danger that these new offices would come to be filled with men who, either corruptly or "honestly," would think the thoughts of the corporations which they were set to regulate, and in effect would assume their own function to be the

¹ Other articles by Dr. Wilcox in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are as follows: How the Chicago and Cleveland Street Railway Settlements Are Working Out, Vol. I, p. 630; The New York Subway Contracts, Vol. II, p. 375; Municipal Home Rule and Public Utility Franchises, Vol. III, p. 13; Street Railway Re-settlements and Negotiations for Municipal Ownership, Vol. III, p. 745.

protection of the corporations not merely from undiscriminating popular wrath, but from the very law itself.

From the standpoint of the conservatives there was the countervailing danger that shallow and flighty radicals might be appointed to the commissions and "play hob" with the solid investments of the people. This danger is a legitimate bugaboo that has to be thought down as the result of experience and observation. Doubtless if the commissions had the final power to do harm to legitimate investments, the appointment of unsound radicals to the commissionerships might easily prove to be a frightful calamity, not only to investors, but to the community as a whole. But all our political experience in this country goes to show that corporate interests know well how to take care of themselves in the matter of appointments to public office, and also that official responsibility tends to generate conservatism in those who have been ignorantly radical. Moreover, the great powers given to the commissions are not final but are subject to the ultimate arbitrament of the courts.

Another danger that could easily be foreseen was the possible inability of the appointing power to induce men of adequate stature to accept the heavy obligations of work and responsibility necessarily attaching to these offices. It was notorious then, as it still is, that the corporations, which, from the possession of monopoly privileges, are enabled to tap the pockets of the people daily, monthly or quarterly for the price of certain necessities of urban civilization, have more ready cash to spend and more willingness to spend it in subsidizing brains, than the state itself has. It was to be expected that the effort to bring public service corporations under closer supervision would result in the multiplication of their defensive operations and, consequently, in an enormous increase in their demand for high-priced experts in the legal, engineering and accounting professions. The corporations understood, and we all are coming to understand, that subsidized experience and intellectual adroitness can mold to their own purposes honest mediocrity in public office, or at the very least, can so muddle it as to prevent any effective action inimical to the interests in whose service brilliancy is enlisted.

Another danger, the corollary of this one, could also be readily foreseen, namely, that able men, having received their training in the commissions, would subsequently be "picked off" by the corporate interests to serve the other side.

It was easy to see that in so complex and difficult a work as that of public utility regulation, continuity of personnel, other things being equal, would be one of the most important factors of success. In the great city of New York, in 1907, when the Hughes commission was established, it is doubtful whether there were five men who were immediately competent to perform the functions of the commission. Governor Hughes had to take the best men that he could get, according to the lights he had, and

then these men had to be educated for their jobs by their jobs. Men for this position need not only great native ability, wide experience, public-mindedness and almost unlimited capacity for intense mental application, but, having all these things, they are still unqualified for their work until they have had their wits sharpened in the stress of actual public regulation.

There was another danger in the establishment of state public service commissions which might have been foreseen and in certain communities was foreseen. I refer to the danger of inducing political atrophy in municipalities by depriving them in whole or in part of the function of control which they had previously exercised over local streets and local utility services. This rather subtle danger was not fully appreciated in states like New York, where municipal home rule has long been a matter of political clamor rather than of administrative experience. The reaction which has recently set in in Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Washington, Illinois, Minnesota and other states against the idea of exclusive regulation by state commissions, is a lively evidence of this danger.

It might appear, from this recital of the perils foreseen or since seen, which were inherent in the public service commission movement from the beginning, that public service regulation is too dangerous to be tried; that the remedy it offers is more deadly than the disease it fails to cure. It may be safely said, however, that the public service commission movement had to be started and still has to go on, in spite of everything, until a substitute is provided that will bring better results.

Governor Hughes well knew that in the creation of new commissions with vastly increased regulatory powers, the state must take a certain risk. He knew that if the commissions fell into the hands of the politicians and became either instruments for the blackmail of the corporations or merely their bulwarks against the public desire for adequate service at low rates, it might be said of the state of New York, as it was of the man in the Scriptures when the unclean spirit, having left him, returned with seven other spirits more wicked than himself: "The last state of that State is worse than the first." Hughes knew especially that if the public service commission for the New York City district became an adjunct of Tammany government it would be a colossal failure. But the times were critical. Something big had to be done. Therefore, the governor took all the precautions that seemed to him possible to establish the new commissions on a high non-political basis, with prospective continuity of tenure and with all the facilities necessary for building up an efficient technical organization to protect alike the interests of the public and the interests of the corporations engaged in rendering public utility service.

The public service commissions law gave the commissioners five-year terms and yearly salaries of \$15,000. They were made appointive by the governor and senate and removable by the governor alone for "ineffi-

ciency, neglect of duty or misconduct in office," but in a case of contemplated removal, the charges against a commissioner were to be presented to him and he was to be given an opportunity of being heard publicly in person or by counsel in his own defense upon not less than ten days' notice. If, after this, the commissioner was removed, the governor was required to file in the office of the secretary of state a full statement of the charges and of his findings in regard to them, with a complete record of the proceedings.

Governor Hughes began by appointing commissioners whose integrity was above suspicion and who were not actively connected with the political machines of either party. The terms of the commissioners in each district were so arranged that in his second administration Governor Hughes would have the reappointment, first, of a Republican and then, in his last year, of a Democrat. It was also arranged that the first one to go out of office after the close of the second Hughes administration should be a Democrat. It seemed reasonable to assume that the example of Hughes in the last year of his office, in reappointing a Democrat for a full term, would have sufficient weight to give a strong impetus toward a tradition of permanency in the tenure of the commissions. It seemed that his successor, if a Republican, could not do less than follow his example in reappointing a Democratic commissioner; while, on the other hand, if Hughes were to be succeeded by a Democrat, it would be easy for the new governor to reappoint a man of his own party and extremely difficult for him not to do so if the man's record was good and the commission had public sentiment behind it. Hughes also tried to forestall the possibility of Tammany control of the New York City commission by keeping the appointment of the commissioners in the governor's hands, although the commission was made the successor of the local rapid transit board and was given extraordinary powers as the representative of New York City. Moreover, the special difficulty of the regulatory problems in New York City, as well as the overshadowing importance of the local problem of rapid transit development, made it seem expedient to put upon New York City as a municipality the burden of paying the major portion of the commission's expenses. Governor Hughes deliberately and with cunning aforethought violated the principle of municipal home rule in relation to this commission. As later events have proved, in this respect he sowed the wind of expediency and the city is reaping the whirlwind of grief.

When the appointments to the original commission were announced in 1907, many New Yorkers had a feeling of disappointment, believing that the governor had not named as strong a body of men as he should have chosen. On the whole this disappointment was justified by the event, although it would be difficult even now to point out five other men whom the governor might have selected at the time with any assurance of better

results. William R. Willcox, who was selected as chairman, had been postmaster of New York for a number of years and prior to that a park commissioner. He was not exactly a politician, although he had ambitions in politics. He was not a machine man, although he was not known as an aggressive reformer. He classified himself while on the commission as a conservative-radical. The other appointees were Milo R. Maltbie, a doctor of philosophy in political science and a practical student of civic and public utility problems; Edward M. Bassett, a well-known Brooklyn lawyer and long-time personal friend of Governor Hughes, who had in his early life had experience as a promoter of public utilities and later had achieved distinction as a citizen of Brooklyn, where he had served as a member of the board of education and had been elected to congress for one term; William McCarroll, a business man of long experience and high standing, who at the time was president of the Board of trade and transportation and of the Manufacturers' association; and John E. Eustis, a lawyer who had participated in reform movements and was well known for his rugged and out spoken honesty.

Chairman Willcox and Dr. Maltbie lived in Manhattan. Mr. Bassett and Mr. McCarroll were Brooklynites. Mr. Eustis hailed from The Bronx, which is the portion of the city north of the Harlem river. The borough of Queens and the borough of Richmond, large in area but comparatively small in population, were without representation on the commission. While it was not intended that the commission should be made up of men representing primarily the local interests of the several boroughs of the city, nevertheless the boroughs other than Manhattan came to look upon the representatives they had as more or less bound to fight for borough interests. This was especially true of The Bronx, which has for many years exhibited vociferous and persistent local individuality. It has special interests and has been clamorous for them. In transit matters it is the spoiled child of New York. This peculiarity of The Bronx was to a certain extent embodied in the character of Commissioner Eustis and has to be taken into consideration, along with his individual characteristics, in estimating his qualifications for the work of the public service commission. It appeared that in matters affecting other boroughs than his own he was often willing to back up radical action proposed by other commissioners. But when it came to The Bronx, all theories had to go by the board if their application to the problem in hand threatened to interfere with local expansion of public utility service according to the demands of The Bronx real estate "rooters," who seemed to comprise almost the entire population of the borough.

Soon after the commission got to work, certain differences of temperament and sympathies developed among the commissioners. Dr. Maltbie was the most radical of the five and Mr. Bassett, though inclining toward conservatism at first, proved to be the type of man who is educated

by his job. More and more, Maltbie and Bassett lined up as the progressive members of the commission and McCarroll and Eustis as the conservatives, with Chairman Willcox holding the balance of power and harmonizing as far as possible the differences among his colleagues. Sometimes he voted radical and sometimes conservative, until, in the storm and stress of the rapid transit negotiations four or five years later, he became all conservative.

In his second term as governor, Hughes reappointed Mr. Eustis and Dr. Maltbie for full terms of five years each. Then came the political overturn following the retirement of Hughes from New York politics and the struggle between William Barnes and Theodore Roosevelt for control of the Republican party in the Empire state. In January, 1911, John A. Dix, the nominee of Charles F. Murphy, assumed the reins of executive government at Albany. In the fullness of his wisdom he launched an attack upon what he chose to style "government by commission," but his own special commissioner appointed to investigate the first district commission reported that it was doing very well with the vast and complex problems under its jurisdiction and specifically suggested that in view of the uncompleted rapid transit negotiations, it would be inadvisable to make any immediate change in the personnel of the commission. In the meantime, Mr. Bassett's term had expired. Mr. Bassett was a Democrat and had unquestionably become one of the ablest and most efficient members of the commission. However, he was beginning to incur the hostility of some of the powerful public service corporations under the commission's jurisdiction. Governor Dix, both on account of his business and social connections and on account of his political alliances, could not be expected to appoint public service commissioners against the protest of the corporation interests in New York City. After several months of painful wabbling, Dix finally evolved the happy thought of injecting more "energy" into the commission by appointing in place of Mr. Bassett the Honorable J. Sergeant Cram, chairman of the Tammany general committee, whose great distinction in New York was that he had served for many years as the social mentor of Boss Murphy.

How this appointment was received in New York may be judged by the fact that the editors of the *New York Times*, who are by no means distinguished for the laconic nature of their comments upon current political events, were reduced in their final effort on this occasion to the space of two short paragraphs, as follows:

CRAM

Governor Dix's appointment of J. Sergeant Cram to the public service commission of the first district would be scandalous if it were not so grotesque. All men who have a capacity for indignation for a public wrong will want to say something about the appointment, but what can they say? In the case of Cram strong language would be inappropriate.

It is probably the most absurd appointment ever made by a governor of the state of New York. And yet Governor Dix has the hardihood to say that "Mr. Cram understands, as few men do, the rapid transit needs of New York City."

The retirement of Bassett and the appointment of Cram would never have been possible, even as the result of a political overturn at Albany, if the Hughes commission had not made mistakes and in many respects proved a disappointment to the over-expectant people of New York City. A certain lack of energy and failure to grasp the big issues, as well as some mistakes in detail, had accentuated the inherent impossibility of bringing about the millenium in transit conditions in New York overnight.

The appointment of Cram in place of Bassett was regarded by those who knew and cared for the public service idea back of the Hughes commission, as the most stupid and wicked blow that a blundering chief executive could possibly strike at a complex instrument of government. It was as if an ignoramus, picked up from the street and given the job of driving a modern motor truck, had expressed his prejudice in favor of the old-fashioned one-horse dray and his inability to understand the new vehicle by heaving a rock into the transmission. It was one of those tragedies of democracy which tend to discourage the most hopeful and to fill with joy that excellent group of citizens who are constantly croaking about the inefficiency of government and the uselessness of public endeavor.

Mr. Cram, as a commissioner, fulfilled the expectations that greeted his appointment. Being unfitted by his temperament and training for the continuous mental effort required of a public service commissioner, Mr. Cram avoided the issue by denouncing the meetings of the committee of the whole, in which the commission did its work, as "star chamber proceedings," and by refusing to attend them. Curiously enough, however, in playing for political position, he lined up with Dr. Maltbie on the radical side of some of the big issues, notably the subway contracts. The weeping of the angels over Governor Dix's stupidity was turned into laughter at the ridiculous spectacle of Cram, the embodiment of Tammany indolence and craftiness, in alliance with Maltbie, the embodiment of painstaking intelligence and applied conscience, in an effort to check the conservative majority of the Hughes commission in its headstrong course on the subway contracts.²

² What the writer thought of the subway contracts was fully set forth in an article contributed by him to the July, 1913, issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. Unfortunately, the entire history of the New York City public service commission for several years past hinges upon the subway contracts and the negotiations and interplay of political and financial forces having relation to them. Good men differed in regard to their merits, but there is evidence that public opinion is now veering against the contracts in the light of the city's present financial distress. At any rate, in this article the writer has been compelled to assume without further argument that the contracts were not in the interest of the city, and to treat the whole tangled development largely from that point of view.—D. F. W.

Governor Dix was not the man to learn much by experience. True, when the second vacancy occurred in the commission, he did not appoint another man of exactly the Cram type, possibly because he was unable to find another such in New York City, but probably because his sympathies and the interests that had most influence with him forbade the appointment of another man who would not be absolutely "safe." At any rate he selected in place of Commissioner McCarroll, George V. S. Williams, a Brooklyn lawyer who was allied with the regular Democratic organization and some years previously had been connected in a subordinate capacity with the legal staff of the Brooklyn rapid transit company. He was a man of considerable ability and industry, but he promptly lined up with the conservative element on the commission, supported the subway contracts and has continued to give the impression of extreme friendliness for his former employer, the Brooklyn rapid transit company, and the other big corporations having business with the commission.

Chairman Willcox's term of office expired on February 1, 1913, one month after the advent of the Honorable William Sulzer in the executive chamber at Albany. William Sulzer had celebrated himself in congress and throughout the country as a "friend of the people." Mr. Hearst and the *New York World*, both vigorous opponents of the subway deal, urged upon Sulzer the necessity of appointing in Willcox's place a new man who would kill the contracts before the city should be "sold out." Meanwhile, the majority of the commission, led by Chairman Willcox, left no stone unturned in an effort to get the contracts whipped into final shape and executed by Mr. Willcox before the governor could appoint his successor. This feverish anxiety was in part due to the fear that Sulzer might listen to the advice of the radicals and appoint a chairman who would upset the subway deal entirely, and, in part, due to the fact that Mr. Willcox considered these contracts as the crowning achievement of six years of arduous labor and was, therefore, extremely eager to have the honor of signing them as an evidence to posterity of the great services he had rendered to the city of New York.

Sulzer was a Democrat engaged in the difficult political exercise of riding two horses at the same time, with the further unfortunate complication that the horses were going in opposite directions. This feature of gubernatorial life has long been an institution in New York. The people look for it as they look for the regular return of Barnum and Bailey's circus to Madison Square Garden. Only about two governors in a generation refused to take the exercise. Sulzer had announced that he himself was the leader of the Democracy in New York State and had dared anybody and everybody (with a sly look in the direction of Charles F. Murphy) to challenge his leadership. At the same time he was seeking to placate Murphy by making appointments that would be acceptable to him, especially in New York City.

It is understood that Sulzer had conceived a personal dislike for Chairman Willcox, for some reason not generally known to the public. The friends of the dual contracts—and they included most of the great and powerful in New York—were insistent in urging upon Sulzer his duty to reappoint Willcox. But Democratic precedents, as well as personal dislike, stood in the way.

After a few days' delay, the governor announced his selection for the chairmanship. It was none other than the Honorable Edward E. McCall, Tammany judge of the supreme court and brother of the late John A. McCall of New York life insurance fame. It was not generally known that Judge McCall had recently been interested in the Kings County electric light and power company, a powerful Brady corporation of Brooklyn, but it was known and acknowledged by everybody that he represented the point of view of the big fellows in Wall Street—Morgan, Ryan and the rest. Sulzer announced this appointment as a purely personal one. McCall had been his friend for many, many years, and he called upon him, in this crisis, to give up the honors and emoluments of the judgeship and accept, at a personal sacrifice, the chairmanship of the public service commission in order that the whole subway controversy might be reviewed anew by a fresh mind. It was clear that McCall would be unprejudiced by any suspicion of knowledge of the subject. It was also clear that his decision would be such as to justify the confidence which Charles F. Murphy and the great interests of Wall Street had already reposed in him. When, a few weeks later, he came to render his decision, he announced that he had been unable to find an "i" to dot or a "t" to cross in these wonderful contracts. In fact, his only objection to them was that they were too favorable to the city. He signed the contracts and announced to the rapid transit companies, who were well represented on the memorable occasion, that he would be "on their necks" every minute of the time until the construction of the rapid transit lines was completed. To the public it appears that he has been *around* their necks, instead of *on* them.

Mr. Willcox felt much put out at the bad treatment he had received from the state, and the door of the chairmanship had scarcely closed upon him before he reappeared in the presence of the commission in the rôle of counsel for the Hudson and Manhattan railroad company (owners of the McAdoo tubes) in a big capitalization case and also as counsel for the New York Edison company, subsidiary of the Consolidated gas company, in a big rate case. Shortly afterwards, Frank W. Stevens, the able chairman of the up-state commission, was retired to private life by another act of Governor Sulzer. Stevens also was stung to the quick by the ingratitude of the state and immediately accepted the position of general counsel for the New York central railroad company. Thus these two distinguished public men were "picked off" by the corporations they

had been regulating. In this connection it is to be noted that Roemer, former chairman of the Wisconsin railroad commission, recently resigned to go to H. M. Byllesby & Company of Chicago, and Edward W. Doty, the progressive member of the Ohio public service commission, was no sooner dropped in the political shuffle than he sold his services to the traction and light interests of Columbus. When so many distinguished and honorable men, left wounded on the battle-field by some shift in the forces of politics, have seen fit to accept the hospitality of the corporation ambulance, who can bring their patriotism to judgment? It is to be feared that few men on the public side really know the game, or else that "the jingling of the guineas helps the hurt that Honor feels."

With the appointment of McCall an important stage in the political history of the commission was passed. In spite of Governor Hughes's carefully laid plan to keep the commission from Tammany control, here it was in six short years with a Tammany chairman and a Tammany majority, holding their appointments, not from the mayor or people of New York City, but from Hughes's own successors in the governorship. Moreover, the time when this transfer of political control took place was one of the most critical periods in the history of the city. The public service commission, in its purely local capacity as successor of the rapid transit board, was just at the climax of many years of planning and negotiations for the expansion of the subway and elevated railroad systems. The subway contracts, involving the expenditure of \$325,000,000, to be furnished in about equal parts by the city and the rapid transit companies, had arrived at their final stage preliminary to execution. Whatever else may be said of these contracts, it cannot be denied that they are the type of contracts in the execution of which Tammany takes delight. Under them the subways and their equipment are to be technically the property of the city, but they will be subject to a first mortgage held by the companies to secure the 50 per cent of the capital advanced by them. Moreover, in this case the holders of the first mortgage are to operate the property for half a century, leaving the city to protect its equity by the exercise of regulatory power vested principally in the public service commission and involving at an infinite number of points the exercise of discretion by the commissioners. When McCall became chairman and Tammany assumed control of the commission, the expenditure of enormous sums of money under the direction of the commission through a multitude of construction contractors was just getting under way.

Moreover, the public service law, while providing that the salaries of the commissioners themselves, of their chief counsel and of their secretary, amounting in all to \$91,000 a year, should be paid by the state, made all other expenses incurred by the commission a mandatory obligation upon the city. The approval of the local authorities was required for rapid transit routes laid out by the commission, franchises granted and operat-

ing and construction contracts entered into, but for the current expenses of regulation and in the preparation of rapid transit plans, the commission could go to any limit in spending the city's money without the consent of the local authorities. This curious arrangement, devised originally by Governor Hughes as a guaranty that the public service commission established by him to carry out certain state policies should not be handicapped by local indifference or political hostility in performing its work effectively, had played into the hands of the very political interests from which Hughes had tried to protect the public.

A few months after McCall had been appointed chairman of the commission, he was drafted by Boss Murphy to be the Tammany candidate for Mayor of New York, in place of Mayor Gaynor, who had been denied a renomination by the famous meeting at Delmonico's where Murphy, McCall and half a dozen others had "cast lots on the garments of the city and divided her raiment among them." The Fusion candidate was John Purroy Mitchel, who, as a member of the board of estimate and apportionment, had stood firm to the end in his opposition to the subway contracts, co-operating closely with Commissioner Maltbie in this matter. District Attorney Whitman also had been a mayoralty candidate and had lost the nomination to Mitchel by a single vote. Thus, he was compelled to take a renomination for the office he then held, or else play the game alone. He decided to accept the renomination, and at this crisis, largely through the influence of Chairman McCall, he was offered the Tammany nomination for the same office. In his great disappointment over losing the mayoralty, he could see no serious objection to letting his own nomination and election be made unanimous, and so accepted the Tammany offer. In fact he scandalized a great Fusion mass-meeting by giving unqualified indorsement to the high character and qualifications of Chairman McCall, the Tammany candidate for mayor, while practically ignoring his erstwhile rival, Mitchel, the Fusion candidate. All the world knows the result of his campaign. Governor Sulzer had been impeached, not for his crimes, but for his revolt against the organization. The rage against Tammany grew into a devouring flame and McCall was beaten in a Democratic city by a plurality of 124,000.

As a result of this fateful election, Mr. McCall was enabled to continue to devote his energies to the service of the state as chairman of the public service commission. When another year rolled around, another vacancy occurred in the membership of the commission, and, thanks to the impeachment of Sulzer, another governor was in the executive chair at Albany. Mr. Glynn had made a good reputation as state controller during the first Hughes administration, but as governor he also had to ride two horses, and so when it came to the selection of another public service commissioner in the New York City district, after the usual amount of hesitation, he lighted upon Robert Colgate Wood, of The

Bronx, a gentleman who had some years previously served as president of a street railway company which had later been acquired by the Interborough rapid transit interests. In addition to this presidential experience, Mr. Wood had devoted his energies to the financing of various public utility properties in different parts of the country. His appointment appeared to be entirely satisfactory to Tammany and was not the subject of public criticism by the corporation interests. Glynn was in many respects a more efficient governor than his two Democratic predecessors, but his appointment of Wood turned out to be ridiculous in the extreme. Wood proved to be so weak that even his Tammany associates would not have mourned much if some wind out of the political desert had blown him away.

New York City now found itself blessed with a commission unanimously Democratic and, except for Dr. Maltbie, unanimously Tammany. With the advent of the Mitchel administration at the beginning of 1914, Commissioner Maltbie was offered a place in the mayor's cabinet as head of the great city department of water supply, gas and electricity. He declined this appointment and chose to hold on as a minority of one in the public service commission, where he was keeping up a stubborn fight to preserve as far as possible the standards and policies of the commission's earlier days, against the time when a shift in the political forces in the state might bring about a reorganization of the commission more nearly along the original lines. During his incumbency he had attained a national reputation as an expert in rate and capitalization matters, and at times the official reports of the commission were composed principally of his minority opinions. In some cases the Tammany majority filed no opinions, presumably because they had the good sense to know that their opinions, if they had any, would not look well in print, at least by the side of Maltbie's.

In the fall of 1914, District Attorney Whitman, still smarting from his loss of the mayoralty nomination, was triumphantly elected governor of the state on the straight Republican ticket. Whitman's success was so phenomenal that his star as a Presidential Possibility immediately appeared on the horizon. No one knew what his position might be on national issues or even on important state issues. He had no public utility record and New York watched anxiously to see what he would do with the public service commissions. In both districts and particularly in New York City, the popular discontent with the commissions and lack of confidence in their efficiency and integrity as representatives of the public interest, had become wide-spread and acute. Although Whitman had received his nomination by the direct primary system, it was known that as a young man he had been groomed and introduced into public life by the celebrated bosslet, Abraham Gruber, and it was feared by many that his acts as governor would be controlled by, or at least

in harmony with, the wishes of William Barnes, whom we may now call a boss without committing libel.

The Republican sweep had included all of the state offices and more than a two-thirds majority in both branches of the legislature. The state had been scandalized by the unspeakably weak, inefficient and spoils-seeking Democratic administrations that followed the promotion of Governor Hughes to the supreme bench. It was an occasion when, if ever, ruthless legislation and administrative reorganization would be justified, if undertaken for the much-needed purpose of putting the government of the state upon a sound and efficient basis. So far as the public service commissions were concerned, three paths were open. The governor might simply fill the vacancies as they occurred, in which case the organization Democrats, holding over from the discredited régime of the past four years, would continue in control of the commissions until after the close of the governor's present term. He could remove the commissioners on his own motion, or, the Republican legislature could provide for a reorganization of the commissions by a change in the law.

Under these circumstances, it was hoped that the governor would have the courage to assume the responsibility placed upon him by the public service law. The public believed that the first district commission as a whole was inefficient and that the commissioners, except Maltbie, were dominated by corporation influences. It was a clear case for investigation under the Moreland act³ and removal under the public service law. It was thought that if this course were followed, the governor could do no less than to reappoint Commissioner Maltbie as a nucleus for a strong new commission, worthy of the best Hughes traditions.

The governor strongly intimated that there was to be a prompt and thorough reorganization of the commission. Instead of proceeding under the Moreland act, however, and assuming the responsibility himself, he sought to enlist the co-operation of the legislature and to put upon that body the onus of making the investigation and pointing the way to such method of reorganization as might be found necessary or possible. Accordingly, a joint legislative committee was appointed to make a hasty investigation of both commissions, and Colonel William Hayward, the governor's political manager and personal counsel, was selected as counsel for this committee.

Instead of being tender toward Chairman McCall, as might have been expected, Colonel Hayward put McCall on the stand first of the commissioners and in the course of a two-day examination put him in such an unenviable light that his summary removal by the governor seemed inevitable. His use of public automobiles for private purposes was shown

³ The "Moreland act" is a law giving the governor of New York authority to appoint a special commissioner with great inquisitorial powers to investigate any department of the state administration.—D. F. W.

to have been scandalous. His ignorance of the regulation work of the commission appeared to be dense, and his excuse was that he had been devoting his energies from early morning till late at night to the task of familiarizing himself with the subway contracts and to the supervision of rapid transit construction under them. Then it was brought out that in the midst of his busy official life he had found time to carry on a considerable law practice from the commission's offices. McCall seemed down and out, and the newspapers and the public looked upon Colonel Hayward as a mighty hunter. Tammany inefficiency, even in the case of the great chairman, had been mercilessly exposed, and the happy day was at hand when the commission would be reorganized and New York City would be delivered of the nightmare of public service regulation by Tammany politicians. Hayward took the other commissioners one by one and gave them a civil service examination on their qualifications, their duties and their performances, particularly in the field of service regulation. New York was disgusted and delighted. Hayward set up a standard of efficiency and of strictness with the traction and lighting corporations which the commission had never attained even in its best days. Apparently, Governor Whitman was showing his hand and the fear that he would be subservient to the wishes of the great corporations in his handling of the commission problem was dispelled.

It was expected, as a matter of course, that the known courage and efficiency of Dr. Maltbie, the lone survivor of the Hughes régime, would be recognized and that the character of his record would be brought out in sharp contrast with that of his Tammany colleagues. This was what the public expected. This was what those who knew the work of the commission intimately knew would be the program of an investigating committee sincerely interested in rewarding efficiency and proven devotion to the public interest and in weeding out inefficiency and private-mindedness. This was the course which an intelligent desire to prove the superior trustworthiness and governmental efficiency of the Republican party in the state of New York would have dictated. Maltbie was saved until the last—until, in fact, Colonel Hayward and the committee had made out a strong case against all the Tammany commissioners and had carried public opinion to the point where it would unreservedly support Governor Whitman in his apparent determination to make a clean sweep. But when Maltbie was put upon the stand, it soon became evident that Hayward desired to "get" him also, although his term had expired and if the governor wished to get rid of him no charges were necessary. Maltbie's examination lasted several days. The public began to see that what the governor and the legislative committee were interested in was not so much the inefficiency of the commission *per se* as the discrediting of all the commissioners, good and bad. The public and the press generally had been urging the retention of Commissioner Maltbie

on the reorganized commission. But apparently Maltbie's strong support was displeasing to the governor, inasmuch as it tended to put him in a position where he would not be free to retire Maltbie and appoint a Republican in his place in case there should be any slip in the reorganization program. It was also well known that Maltbie had incurred the hostility of the great interests in New York, first through his strictness in rate and capitalization cases, and second by his vigorous opposition to the subway contracts. Moreover, most important of all, Maltbie was a close friend of Mayor Mitchel, and his reappointment under the circumstances would give a severe check to "government by resentment," the new fad at Albany.

When the public saw that Colonel Hayward's idea of an investigation was to "get" everybody without reference to actual efficiency and deserts, sentiment began to cool toward the investigation. Matters reached a climax when Maltbie, goaded into a passion by the investigator's insinuations against his official probity, broke out into a spectacular defense of his record and a criticism of the investigating committee's attitude. Just prior to this climax, it had been announced semi-officially at Albany that the governor intended to appoint Colonel Hayward himself as chairman of the reorganized first district commission. This apparent combination of selfish motives animating the investigation turned public opinion in the city strongly against Colonel Hayward and the committee, and in the resentment at the unwarranted attacks upon Maltbie, a certain amount of sympathy was generated for the Tammany men themselves.

The investigating committee finished its work in haste under prodding from the governor and reported that the members of the first district commission had been derelict in the performance of their duties. Maltbie's case was treated quite gingerly and his record was not severely criticized. Upon the basis of the committee's findings, the governor proceeded to prefer charges of inefficiency and misconduct in office against the four Tammany commissioners, whose terms had not expired and whose removal was therefore necessary if new appointments were to be made. The reaction in public sentiment in the city enabled the accused commissioners to rally to their own defense, which was so spirited and, under the circumstances, so effective on the mind of the governor, that instead of removing the entire group summarily, he held the matter under advisement for two months, until near the end of May, although the original program called for a new commission by March 1. In the meantime, near the end of March, he appointed Colonel Hayward in Commissioner Maltbie's place and soon afterwards selected James O. Carr, legal adviser of the General electric company in all public service commission matters, to succeed Martin S. Decker on the up-state commis-

sion. Colonel Hayward's appointment was greeted by the newspapers of New York with disgust and anger.

The Brooklyn *Daily Eagle* said:

The distinction between Maltbie and Hayward, the turning down of the one, the exalting of the other, cannot be misunderstood. An expert in municipal government, in municipal betterment, goes. An expert in practical politics comes.

Whitman's first effective act in the public service drama showed that he had chosen to follow the example of Dix, who had appointed Cram to inject "energy" into the commission, instead of the example of his great predecessor, Hughes.

The interplay of political and corporation interests, in connection with the New York commissions, has a profound significance. It goes to the very root of the public service movement of the country. It is well known that a community of sympathy and interest in the subway contracts has made a mutual admiration society of Ex-Chairman Willcox and Chairman McCall. As recently as May 19, Mr. Willcox appeared before the public utilities committee of the constitutional convention to urge that the public service commissions be given the protection of the constitution. He recommended that the term of office be made ten years and that the commissioners be given the same security of tenure that is accorded to judges of the Supreme Court. After praising Chairman McCall and the two commissions under their present political control, he is reported to have expressed himself as follows:

I can say without betraying confidence that Governor Whitman is experiencing difficulty in getting men of the proper calibre for the public service commissions. One reason is the short term and another is the fact that without constitutional protection the places are subject to political control.

This was *delicious*, coming, as it did, within two months after Whitman had deliberately sacrificed Maltbie, the expert, in order to put in his place Hayward, the politician! The bi-partisan powers of attraction brought into operation by a common interest in the subway contracts appear to be more powerful than the powers of repulsion caused by mere differences between Tammany and Anti-Tammany politics.

Finally, on May 26, Governor Whitman dismissed the charges against the Tammany commissioners, leaving his faithful lieutenant, Colonel Hayward, to "make good" his high pretensions in a commission stacked against him four to one. Until the charges were dismissed, the new commissioner talked and acted as if he expected the people of New York to believe that "one, with God, is a majority," even of a public service commission. The other commissioners ate out of his hand. But after the governor had taken his final action, the Tammany commissioners noticeably plucked up heart, and Hayward began to find himself in the minority when he became too energetic.

New York has settled down to "enjoy" its medicine. Commissioner Hayward scolds the corporations occasionally, but Chairman McCall goes on proclaiming his profound conviction that the traction magnates, gentlemen all, are working ceaselessly with only one ambition, namely, to render satisfactory service to the public. The public service corporations "got" Maltbie, which was something, and in the process kept McCall and Williams, which was something more. The gallant Colonel Hayward, Governor Whitman's crusader against the Terrible Turk, returned in triumph carrying on his spear the head of the sole survivor of the last preceding expedition. The net result of the investigation was that the pro-corporation Tammany politicians on the commission were white-washed by the governor, while the one independent commissioner, who had made an enviable record, was dropped for a bird of another feather.

When the war is over, if it ever is over, and when the people of the United States have time again, if they ever do have time, to think of public utility problems, we shall see what we shall see. Meantime, Tammany, repudiated at the polls by the electorate of New York, both city and state, gets the bread of life from the hands of Charles S. Whitman, Republican aspirant for the presidency.

GERMAN CITIES UNDER PRESSURE OF WAR¹

BY PROFESSOR ROBERT C. BROOKS

Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania

IMPERIAL and state governments in Germany perform so many functions with such marked efficiency that one is prone to overestimate the degree of centralization prevailing in that country. So far as municipal powers are concerned, however, German cities are in general much better equipped than those of the United States. "One might almost say," to quote Professor Munro, "that, whereas in the United States a city may do only what it is expressly or tacitly empowered to do by common law or by statute, in Prussia, on the other hand, a city may do anything which it is not prohibited from doing either by law or by veto of the higher powers." Rising to the full measure of the opportunities thus accorded them, German cities have developed, especially since 1870, a plenitude of functions with such great success on the whole that they have justly attracted the attention and admiration of the world. To these normal but very extended activities, the pressure of war within the past year has added a great number of others, novel and complex in character, financially burdensome for the most part, but of the utmost importance not only municipally but nationally as well.

None of these new municipal undertakings has received more publicity in America than the introduction of bread tickets. Our interest was due partly to the sensational threat of possible famine; partly because there was something so typically Prussian in the thoroughness, decisiveness and wide grasp of the scheme. So far as the fear of famine was concerned German apologists hastened to assure us that the bread tickets were a mere precautionary measure made desirable by the possibility of failure in this year's crops, but by no means indicative of any immediately impending shortage of food. In spite of the sensational interest aroused by this policy it must be admitted that its importance was slight relative to the totality of new enterprises undertaken by German cities under pressure of war.

On January 25, a regulation of the German federal council provided that for the time of its operation consumption of grain and flour should be limited to three fourths of the average amount used during the first fifteen days of the year. Methods whereby this result was to be attained were not specified. Bread tickets were first suggested in the Prussian administrative note prepared to accompany the bundesrat's regulation.

¹ See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 109.

Immediately a number of cities complied, and within a brief period this solution of the problem was adopted virtually over the whole empire. In spite of the sharp reminder of possible food shortage implied by the bread tickets they were accepted by the people with patriotic enthusiasm. Many citizens thought they saw in the new policy a significant step in the direction of state socialism and welcomed it also on this account.

Within a short time, however, numerous difficulties made themselves apparent. Police officials who were entrusted with the distribution of the tickets found it necessary to install forces of assistants to cope with the great volume of administrative and clerical work entailed by the new system. In some places citizens volunteered to do this work without compensation. Originally the tickets were issued in most cities on a uniform basis, that is the same number were issued each week per person without regard to the age, sex or occupation of the recipients. It is not to be denied that this policy worked substantial injustice. For example, a hard working day laborer in whose diet bread had formed a large and indispensable part nevertheless received no more tickets than a comfortably situated official or professional man able to command a varied menu. In some cities recognition of this injustice led to more or less complicated schemes for taking differences of age, sex, occupation, etc., into account. Naturally such distinctions increased and complicated greatly the work of distributing tickets. In other cities following a recommendation made by the government, the uniform method was continued, but persons in the more comfortably situated and less hard working classes were requested as a charitable act to bring any bread tickets they had not used to specified places in order that they might be redistributed to persons needing them more. The city of Hanover decided against the use of tickets altogether, and endeavored to reduce consumption by controlling the quantity of flour delivered to bakers. This plan was advocated as much simpler and more effective than any effort on the part of the government to deal with the whole body of ultimate consumers. In opposition to the Hanover plan, however, the argument was used that bakers could not be trusted to divide their product fairly among customers, but would naturally favor the well-to-do. Altogether, therefore, every method of regulating the consumption of bread developed difficulties.

While it is admitted that German cities did everything in their power to compel economy, there is much criticism of the policy pursued by the government with regard to food staples. The war had not been long in progress before prices generally began to rise with alarming rapidity. In some cases the increase on such essential commodities as potatoes, vegetables, bread, flour and meat amounted to 100 per cent or more. To a considerable extent this was due to the stoppage of supplies by the war. But it was charged that no small part of the increase was attributable to corners engineered by private dealers and speculators. Finally the

government found itself forced to fix maximum prices which, however, are much higher than the already high prices prevailing in Germany before the war. In some quarters the delay in fixing price limits was savagely criticized as due to the influence at court of the agrarians, or landed gentry. Certain it is that the latter have profited largely by war prices. The government is also criticized for its half-way policy of fixing maximum prices for various kinds of grain and neglecting to fix maximum prices for the corresponding flours and meals. Statistics show remarkable variations from city to city in the margin between grain and flour prices which can hardly be explained on any other ground than that of speculative influences at work in many localities. In an effort to help the situation a large number of cities purchased for storage considerable supplies of food including fresh and preserved meats and potatoes as well as grain. But here also it is charged that the purchases were made too late in many cases to take advantage of favorable market conditions.

In the field of social politics the war has forced upon German cities heavier burdens along all existing lines, and led to the establishment of many new methods of relief. A report presented by the magistrat to the council of Berlin in March shows the startling magnitude of these developments in the metropolis. For the support of soldiers' families alone the city had expended to the end of February, \$2,032,431.46, in addition to the imperial contribution for the same purpose of \$2,055,572.68. The number of such families had increased from 62,980 at the end of August to 92,557 at the end of the first week of March. A further increase was expected as a result of the calling to the colors of the older landsturm classes.

With the stoppage of industry at the outbreak of war the problem of unemployment also became acute. The magistrat of Berlin endeavored to meet this situation in part by ordering that all building and other undertakings of the city should be carried on as provided in the budget. It also placed at the disposal of the war department a large number of workmen who were employed in strengthening fortifications, and supplied these men whenever necessary, with boots, clothing, woolen blankets, etc. In addition the city provided monetary relief to the unemployed amounting to the end of February to \$571,772.39.

City authorities also gave a great deal of attention to the matter of rent payments. In spite of the large sums devoted to the relief of soldiers' families many of the latter were unable to meet the full demands of their landlords. Additional relief according to the size of the family was given in such cases, but grants for this purpose were made conditional upon a reduction in the amount of the rent. At first many landlords refused to make reductions. When this happened the rent was simply not paid, and as a consequence most of the owners finally gave in. In Feb-

ruary alone the city assisted soldiers' families in this way to the amount of \$157,794. Relief similar in kind although not so generous in amount was given the unemployed who could not pay their rent. Finally ten bureaus were opened in various parts of Berlin where boards composed of officials of the municipal housing department and assistants from private organizations with a jurist as chairman endeavored to adjust difficulties arising between landlords and tenants.

Much relief had also to be given in the shape of food and clothing, in the distribution of which private organizations were called upon for assistance. For the provision of school lunches to children of poor families a sum of \$87,500 was voted by the council in addition to the \$55,000 already in the budget for this purpose. Refugees reaching Berlin from East Prussia were aided to the amount of \$7,500. The city also advanced nearly a million dollars toward the establishment of a war grain company. Fifty thousand dollars were appropriated to cover the cost of administering the regulations with regard to the consumption of bread and flour. More than 200 acres of land belonging to the city were turned over in small plots to citizens for the purpose of making gardens, manure and seeds being supplied free of charge.

Assistance was even provided for persons struggling under mortgages. In co-operation with the four great property owners' associations, the city established a war loan bank with a capital of 1,000,000 marks, 60 per cent of which was advanced by the municipal treasury and 40 per cent by the four private associations. The directory of the imperial bank put a credit of 10,000,000 marks at the disposal of this enterprise, the city government undertaking to guarantee half of the amount. By this means powerful support was given to the whole structure of real estate credit and many foreclosures were avoided.

For the quartering of troops the city government of Berlin has advanced a net sum of nearly \$100,000. It provided 2,492 beds for wounded soldiers, and transformed the newly completed insane asylum at Bucht into a hospital with accommodations for 1,700 more. The municipal savings bank of the capital city invested \$14,280,000 in the two war loans. A number of small appropriations were voted by the council for charitable purposes, among which may be noted \$59,500 and \$23,800 for relief work in East Prussia and Alsace-Lorraine respectively, and \$4,760 for the Red Crescent—presumably the Turkish analogue of the Red Cross.

From the outbreak of the war the government of Berlin devoted itself assiduously to the provisioning of the city. Up to the end of the first week in March it had expended \$4,098,735.32 for food stuffs, principally flour, grain, legumes, potatoes, cattle, meat, bacon, suet, herring and fish. On sales from this stock it has received \$1,302,141.08. Nevertheless some difficulty is being experienced in attempting to meet the terms of a notice issued by the federal council regarding the setting aside of supplies

of preserved meat. Complete compliance with the administrative directions accompanying this notice would have involved the expenditure by the Berlin city government of \$7,140,000 for hogs. A beginning upon this gigantic task will, however, be made by the purchase and slaughter of 80,000 hogs. It is doubted whether there are sufficient storage facilities in the city for the entire amount fixed by the bundesrat. What the municipality would do in case a suddenly declared peace found it with these enormous food stores on hand is as yet undecided. However, it has been suggested that the imperial government might be induced to take them over at reduced prices.

All over the empire municipalities are following Berlin's example, although of course on a smaller scale and with many individual variations. Meanwhile war conditions have materially reduced tax receipts and other revenue. As a consequence tax rates are rising rapidly. The most common device to secure needed income is an increase of the municipal levy additional to the state income tax. Thus Charlottenburg, which had been collecting an amount equal to 110 per cent of the state income tax, proposes now to raise this to 140 per cent. Leipsic contemplates an increase of from 120 to 150 per cent; Barmen from 240 to 260 per cent. Berlin's budget for the coming year reaches a total of \$85,204,000.¹ This is exclusive, however, of the cost of relief measures due to the war, which it is proposed to lump together later and care for by bond issues, particularly since reimbursement to some extent is expected from the state and imperial treasuries. For some years past Berlin has anxiously striven to keep its addition to the state income tax down to 100 per cent. For next year, however, it will probably be compelled to make the rate 125 per cent.

In spite of war burdens and higher tax rates, German cities seem to have lost no part of their faith in the future. Great municipal undertakings which had already been begun are being carried on, and in some cases new enterprises have been approved. Berlin, for example, provides for bond issues in its next budget for underground railway construction, for a new and enlarged harbor, for gas and water works improvements, for the purchase of the Lancke estate at a cost of \$4,760,000, for market halls and a wholesale meat market. Unlike most of its suburbs, Berlin has met the cost of new public school buildings exclusively out of current funds, and apparently the greater city intends to continue this policy in spite of the burdens of war.

All such new undertakings sink into insignificance, however, in compari-

¹For the present year the budget balanced at an even higher figure—\$97,282,500, but this included loans amounting to \$16,896,000. The loans for next year's budget are estimated at only \$7,140,000, which, however, does not take into account bond issues necessitated by war relief measures. If these were included the coming budget should be the greatest in the city's history.

son with the determination of the German metropolis, announced to the world's amazement in February last, to municipalize its electric light works. Under the franchise of 1899-1907, Berlin reserved the right to purchase the plant on October 1, 1915, at either its book or its assessed value. Two years' notice was required and had been given by the magistrat in 1913. This action, however, was taken primarily with the purpose of keeping the city's right of purchase legally alive, leaving the actual determination of the matter to a later date. Meanwhile many alternative plans were discussed, among them the formation of a mixed municipal and private operating company, and the continuance of the franchise upon a guarantee of materially lower rates. The operating company expected to meet the latter demand by opening up generating stations close to the fuel supply in the Bitterfeld district. Suddenly, however, it was announced that the imperial government had taken over for war purposes the entire output of lignite from that territory. This announcement seems to have determined the magistrat in favor of municipal ownership and operation at the earliest possible moment. Under existing conditions it is a tremendous enterprise,² but the officials of the city are making the necessary financial and administrative arrangements for the transfer in all confidence.

And indeed there would seem to be sufficient ground for confidence when one considers the showing made by the German savings banks in 1914. They began the year with deposits of \$4,641,000,000 and a reserve of nearly a quarter of a billion dollars. The first six months of 1914 were extraordinarily favorable, the excess of deposits over withdrawals amounting to \$88,060,000. July began well but toward the end of the month the rumors of war caused a considerable run on the savings banks. Following the declaration of war on August 1, however, the panic subsided. It is a remarkable fact that both August and September of 1914 showed considerably better results than the corresponding months of the preceding year. In October withdrawals exceeded deposits by from 80 to 95 million dollars. This, however, was due to the participation of large numbers of savings bank depositors in the first war loan raised by the imperial government. November and December again showed increases in excess of the preceding year. This is the more remarkable because formerly the month of December nearly always brought a falling off in deposits. The year as a whole shows an excess of deposits over withdrawals of \$64,260,000. To this should be added interest credited to

² Operation of the B. E. W. (Berliner Elektrizitäts Werke) began in 1885 with 3,000 incandescent lamps. On June 30, 1914, there were 2,106,801 incandescent lamps, 44,171 arc lights, 42,943 motors, and 7,837 other kinds of apparatus connected. In the business year 1885-6, the total number of kilowatt hours was 37,080; in 1913-14, it was 267,600,000. The present cable net work has a length of 5,381 miles. In 1889 the B. E. W. paid into the city treasury \$270,844; in 1914 it paid \$1,722,882.

the depositors for the year amounting to \$157,080,000 making a total gain for 1914 of \$221,340,000. Recalling the large share taken in the management of German savings banks by municipal and other local officials the above showing is equivalent to a magnificent vote of confidence.

The old maxim: "In time of peace prepare for war," is being reversed by German officials to-day. Numerous as are their present burdens, they are nevertheless busily devising ways and means to meet the problems that will come with the cessation of hostilities. It is evident that the need for relief work of various kinds will outlast the war. In some lines, as for example unemployment, the requirements will be even greater than at present. It is expected, therefore, that many of the social institutions which have already proved their worth will be continued. On this ground pleas are made especially for food store-houses, granaries, municipal bakeries, slaughter houses, milk stations, crèches, and even for the cattle fattening establishments. Prior to the war women and men of the laboring classes were employed to a very slight extent relatively in German municipal charities. This taboo broke down everywhere as the armies took the field. Hundreds and thousands of women and workingmen filled the vacant places in city hospitals, asylums, alms houses, etc., with the greatest success, and in the future social workers will doubtless continue to be drawn from these hitherto neglected groups.

One of the saddest problems caused by war, a problem moreover that will have to be faced for years to come, is that of providing for soldiers who have been injured or crippled. Early in May it was estimated by Biesalski that 40,000 men, or 10 per cent of all the wounded at that time, had been crippled permanently in one or more limbs or had lost the use of one of their sense organs. To these must be added the soldiers discharged because of permanent disability due to affections of the lungs, rheumatism, diseases of the digestive organs, heart trouble, nervous disturbances, and the lighter forms of insanity. Of course the major portion of this burden must be assumed financially by the empire, but municipalities will be utilized extensively in the administration of relief measures. It is significant that little or no attention seems to be given to pension schemes, although an imperial law was passed as early as 1906 providing for relief in the form of the payment of the rent of those injured in war. The dominant note in all this discussion is first, the best possible medical and surgical care; second, provision whenever necessary of the best obtainable artificial limbs; third, training of the injured that will enable them to return to their old employment in as many cases as possible or at least to do work that will make them self-supporting. At all costs the national disgrace following the war of 1870-71, when crippled organ-grinders were to be seen everywhere in the streets of German cities, is to be avoided after this war. Already municipal employment offices are

making special efforts to secure places for the wounded who are unable to go back to the front, but who are capable of doing some kinds of work. Strong appeals are made to the patriotism of employers to take back former employes who have been injured fighting for the fatherland. Municipal and other public corporations, the government and particularly the war department, will doubtless provide light work as messengers, watchmen, etc., for as many as possible. In spite of all the science, care and money that will be expended for these purposes, however, one must stand appalled at the volume of pain, misery, weakness and poverty that will exist for decades after the war is over.

It is a relief to turn for a moment to one effect of the war that deserves favorable mention. Since the outbreak of hostilities there has been a distinct tendency to treat socialists in German city governments with some degree of fairness. In a number of cities they have even been elected to minor administrative posts and, *mirabile dictu*, such elections have received the necessary confirmation of the central government. Encouraged by these events the Berlin municipal council, on March 18, elected Johannes Sassenbach, one of its socialist members, to an unpaid position in the magistrat. Almost without exception in the past socialist fractions in city councils have voted against the budget. This year, however, they voted favorably in numerous instances, among others in the cities of Berlin, Hamburg, and Munich. Such occurrences, novel and significant as they may be, are not to be taken, however, as indicating complete reconciliation. The old antagonism owing to the inequality of the election laws and particularly to the Prussian three class system, are felt even more keenly than before by socialists. Repeatedly they have pointed out that in the trenches their comrades take equal chances with men of other parties. Why, then, should their votes not be counted equally in municipal elections? While no change of attitude by the government on this point is to be expected during the war, it is certain that the demand for reform will be pushed with greatly increased force when peace is restored.

Considering the bewildering number of duties forced upon them by war and the intelligence and patriotism with which these are being performed, one must admit that German cities are fully living up to their best traditions. Some friction there has been, of course, and some mistakes have been made, but on the whole the municipalities have completely justified the broad grant of self-governing powers conferred upon them, and have exercised these powers to the immense advantage both of their own people and of the fatherland. Like every other public institution in Europe, they are suffering, and for years must continue to suffer, from the vast waste of blood and treasure caused by war. But at least they are setting themselves manfully to the task of minimizing this suffering in every possible way.

GRAFT PROSECUTIONS: 1914-1915

ALICE M. HOLDEN¹

Cambridge, Mass.

IS THE general plane of political morality in the United States rising or falling? Just a year ago a similar question was raised in an article which appeared in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW dealing with this same subject of graft investigations.² The next few pages of the present issue do not provide a conclusive answer to the question, but they endeavor to assemble some data upon which a possible answer might be framed. The narrative of reputed malfeasance and corrupt conduct in municipal office during the last twelve-month is much more extensive than can reasonably be compressed within these pages; what is here chronicled represents only the most striking examples, those which have received broad publicity or which mark departures from the usual course of public wrong-doing. It will be noticed that municipal corruption, actual and alleged, is not confined to the large cities; smaller municipalities have contributed their full share. Nor is it limited to any one part of the country. From Oakland in California to Everett in Massachusetts, there have been outcroppings of scandal all along the way. Charges, indictments and convictions have not been restricted, moreover, to any one or two departments of municipal administration, such as the police department, for example, but have involved various branches of civic activity. Among them all, however, election frauds stand out pre-eminent in number and in seriousness. This form of public turpitude certainly seems to be undergoing a revival if one may judge from the considerable list reported during the past year.

*Chicago.*³—In any chronicle of municipal corruption Chicago must still be given first place, whether it be for quantity and variety, or for potential graft brought into actuality by the frequent probings of different investigating bodies—the grand jury, the city council committee on crime, the civil service commission and the various boards which have looked into their own individual discrepancies. The council committee on crime, created in May, 1914, issued in the following March a report of nearly two hundred pages which covers the whole criminal situation in Chicago and gives statistics including the year 1913. The findings of the committee are briefly summarized in the following sentence: "The

¹ Secretary of the Bureau for research in municipal government at Harvard University.

² See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iii, p. 525.

³ See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iii, pp. 111 and 529.

technique of man-hunting, the process of prosecuting, the care of the 'caged-man,' and the means of preventing the creation of criminals are far below standards already in practical operation elsewhere." This sentence might be taken in general explanation of the whole situation.

In reviewing the graft prosecutions undertaken during the past year in Chicago, they may be roughly divided into three groups, namely, the police scandals, the vote frauds (including the voting-machine contracts), and the miscellaneous and minor evidences of corruption.

Corruption among the police force of Chicago seems never to lack an example. The first of these in the present docket is the indictment of Thomas Kane, a former police captain and now head of a private secret service bureau, and four justices of the peace on charge of conspiracy to extort money and defeat justice. These indictments were voted in connection with an alleged "shakedown" of "blind pig" operators. The trial, on charge of conspiracy, of William F. Stine, former head of the defunct United police organization, brought to light the existence of a "slush fund" amounting to more than \$66,000, raised for the purpose of bribing certain city aldermen in order to obtain increased pay for policemen. The money was to be returned in case the increase was not forthcoming. Evidence showed that Stine had received about \$30,000 of the fund and, hounded by collectors and contributors to get back their money, he fled from Chicago. Testimony was given by 23 policemen who had been swindled, and Stine was found guilty on charges of conspiracy and embezzlement and sentenced to serve five years in the Joliet penitentiary. A new trial was refused him.

During July the civil service commission started its clean-up of police affairs, which will probably be finished only after all the grand-jury indictments of policemen are returned. Charges of inefficiency and neglect of duty were made against a captain and three lieutenants who were alleged to have permitted vice to flourish for months, little disturbed, in the 22d street district. Although repeatedly warned by the chief of police that they would be held responsible for all violations, the officers were said to have received hints from those "higher-up" to disregard orders and public opinion, and to ignore violations of law by certain resorts. Involved in these cases was the murder of Sergeant Birns in the police battle of 22d street.

In October, Alderman Merriam, chairman of the council committee on crime, requested a grand-jury investigation of the alleged corruption on the part of certain members of the police force, and of the statement made to the committee by an investigator, that more than twenty ex-convicts were operating saloons undisturbed, a number of which catered to men known to be thieves, and that there were to be found in Chicago hundreds of pickpockets, hold-up men, "jack rollers" (men who frequent saloons, wait until patrons are intoxicated, and then rob them), and other

criminals. State's Attorney Hoyne thereupon assumed charge of the probe into the notorious "crime and police trust" scandal. Briefly, the facts seem to have been these. Barney Bertsche, envious of the amazing profits secured by the police-protected "pay-off joint" in the Imperial building through swindling various persons, decided to open an establishment of his own even though his share in the general profits was said to have been upwards of \$10,000 per month. "Ed" Rice, the head of the gang, objected to this and to the importation of outside wiretappers, as did the police, and instructed Detectives Egan and Monaghan to call off Bertsche and even to make away with him if necessary. It was this attack on Bertsche which let out the whole scandal concerning police friendliness with crooks. After Bertsche's indictment there was a general exodus of clairvoyants and wiretappers from the city. Frank Ryan, called the "king of clairvoyants," was brought back and used as witness in the case. His testimony disclosed the identity of several policemen and detectives to whom were paid for protection definite sums of money each month and occasional "shakedowns"—the monthly rate was said to have been from \$400 to \$1,000. Indictments have been brought against Captain Halpin, Lieutenant Tobin and Detectives Egan and O'Brien, but the trials have been postponed several times and the outcome not yet reached. Many charges and countercharges on all sides have been made, as is inevitable when first-hand information is to be secured only from crooks or convicted criminals, and a clear and unbiased view is not easily found. Evidence was discovered by State's Attorney Hoyne, during the investigation, that a slush fund was being raised among members of the police department, dive-keepers, and owners of notorious hotels, for the defense of the police officials indicted in connection with this prosecution; and it was suspected that a corps of policemen was being mustered to influence prospective jurors called for the trial.

Three other former police officials were charged in June with conspiracy with members of the so-called million-dollar burglar trust and with failure to arrest known criminals. Of these men, Captain Storen and his right-hand man, Lieutenant Weisbaum, were convicted, and Sergeant Roth was found not guilty,—all on the testimony of men serving in the penitentiary. Storen was fined \$1,000 and Weisbaum was sentenced to serve three years in the penitentiary.

During the police-graft trials, a good many remedies for the situation were suggested and adopted. One of these was the order of the city council, on motion of Alderman Merriam, that the chief of police present at each regular meeting of the council a summary of complaints regarding robbery, giving date, location and amount involved, and indicating as soon as possible the disposition of each case. A proposal made by Judge Olson was for a night court, to facilitate the handling of crimes while "hot." Another recommendation concerned the revival of the vagrancy bureau,

so that suspicious persons and criminals by suspect might be prosecuted for vagrancy and sent to the hated rock pile, rather than for disorderly conduct.

A definite conviction was reached in May, 1914, of three judges of election in the 27th precinct of the 19th ward at the November, 1912, elections. Two previous trials and acquittals had been held for these same men, the defense having admitted a fraud, but denying that the men arrested were guilty. Special State's Attorney Northup, in charge of the prosecution, pointed out that nearly 700 changes had been made in ballots cast in that precinct in the interest of State's Attorney Hoyne, Peter Bartzen, and others of the same party. The conviction reached in these cases was regarded as having a decided moral value. Just before the primary election in February, wholesale registration-padding was charged by Mayor Harrison's campaign manager, and six men and three women were arrested in the 18th ward. An inquiry by State's Attorney Hoyne was soon under way and election officials in the 1st, 18th and 20th wards were named in true bills, charged with perjury and conspiracy to violate the election laws. After the primary election came a new crop of indictments against nine men, including several judges and clerks of election in the 5th ward, with reports of wholesale frauds in other wards.

The final report of the Butts joint legislative investigating committee on the Chicago voting machines, which has just been made, condemns the machines and recommends the cancellation of the contract and repeal of the voting-machine law. It finds that the machines are susceptible to fraudulent manipulation by custodians, judges of election and voters, that they were operated in Chicago only by violating the elections laws, that errors in vote-counting were frequent, that the machines are not sufficient for the peculiar needs of Chicago, and that proper care and caution were not given by the election board in the whole matter.

The list of instances in which minor graft investigations were made is long and covers a variety of phases. In chronological order, they included an investigation by the board of assessors into a charge against two of its deputies for soliciting and accepting bribes on promise of exemption to taxpayers; the recommendation of City Gas Inspector Wilcox to the city council that it take immediate action against the gas company to protect consumers from "fast" meters, alleging that an annual overcharge of \$200,000 is paid; the threatened prosecution by the federal attorney general of blackmailing by business agents of labor unions in order to protect Chicago labor and to prevent material made outside of Chicago from being used; the investigation by the board of South Park commissioners of graft charges against three of its policemen for threatening to arrest a man unless he paid them money not to; the rumor that \$175,000 was distributed several years ago by contractors in connection with the city-hall contracts; the probe by the council into the bribes offered in the

building department to secure withdrawal of an amendment to the building code and thereby permit the use of a certain patented construction material; the investigation by State's Attorney Hoyne as to the dodging of \$50,000,000 in taxes unpaid; the reported land deals by which public officials were alleged to have made large profits in selling land for the site of the new union depot, the city being paid only \$5.50 per square foot for its streets vacated, as compared with \$18 per square foot paid to private owners; and the disclosure to Judge Olson of a system of graft used by bailiffs through fictitious fines.

New York City.—No particularly conspicuous cases of graft have arisen in New York during the last year. In the well-known Becker case, after two convictions for murder in the first degree, appeals for a further trial and for a commuting of the death sentence were definitely refused and Lieutenant Becker was executed on July 30, 1915. In a minor case of "jury fixing," George Jameson, who had been called as a juror in a civil case before the supreme court, pleaded guilty to having accepted a bribe offered to him by Milton Solomon to influence his verdict. Jameson's sentence was suspended; Solomon pleaded guilty and was sentenced to the Elmira reformatory. Charles Baxter, a physician attached to the New York county workhouse on Blackwell's Island, was sentenced to state prison for a term of three years and four months on his admission of guilt in receiving a "gratuity" in connection with secretly disposing of cocaine to inmates of the workhouse.

On June 22, 1914, 22 election officials pleaded guilty to a violation of the election law relative to voting the names of persons who did not present themselves to vote at the special election held on April 7 in regard to the constitutional convention. The vote was in favor of the convention by a majority of 1,353, and evidence in the case pointed to a conspiracy to stuff the ballot boxes to the same end. All the officials arrested served in the 6th election precinct of the 12th assembly district, which is the home district of Charles T. Murphy of Tammany fame, but they included both Democrats and Republicans. Evidence indicated that of the 300 votes cast in that district, 270 were fraudulent and not a single vote was recorded against the proposition. Six of the defendants were sentenced in the supreme court to the New York county penitentiary for terms of six months, and each of the other 16 was fined \$100.

Oakland, Cal.—In a campaign speech made at Oakland in November, 1914, Francis J. Heney, former district attorney in San Francisco and candidate for United States senator, declared Oakland to be "rotten with graft" and to contain conditions as bad as those in San Francisco before his successful prosecutions there. The natural results followed: widespread popular indignation at evil conditions; the formation of a committee of citizens to expose the situation; its request that Mr. Heney be appointed a deputy district attorney and be given charge of the in-

vestigation; and the wrath which met District Attorney Hynes' refusal to appoint him. The next development was the subpoenaing of Mr. Heney to appear before the grand jury with his facts. In compliance, he furnished a list of gambling places declared to be running openly in Oakland and announced that the highest police officers were on terms of intimacy with certain notorious gamblers. With this start the committee of 100 set about clearing up any suspicious circumstances which might be found in municipal affairs. Already four election officials had been indicted for primary election frauds and the difficulties in the way of accomplishing their conviction intensified popular belief that election frauds would furnish the key to the whole graft mix-up.

The first doubtful transaction to receive the attention of the Alameda county grand jury, as well as of the anti-graft committee of 100, was the optional purchase of park sites by the park commission. It was questioned whether the commission had not exceeded its charter rights in negotiating to pay \$340,000 in ten annual installments and whether any city official had personally profited at the expense of the taxpayers. The grand jury, in a partial report, found no irregularity in the arrangement, though a minority report declared that the acquisition should have been voted on by the people instead of purchased out of the direct tax through a continuous option over a period of ten years.

Interest in the park matter soon died down, however, when the dredger deal was brought to light. In the annual budget the sum of \$180,000 had been appropriated for dredging in the Oakland harbor, to be done, apparently, by contract. Commissioner Anderson of the department of public works, decided, however, to purchase a dredger and to do the work directly. Bids were asked and a dredger purchased from the highest bidder, Messrs. Clark and Henry, at a price of \$98,950. The money was paid at once, although the machine was supposed to be on trial for a month. The firm which had made the lowest bid entered a protest against this unfair treatment and went into court on injunction proceedings, charging that the price paid was excessive and that the dredger could not be operated on the hardpan in the Oakland harbor. The court proceeding failed on technical grounds, but District Attorney Hynes took the matter up, subpoenaed the books and records of the construction company which had manufactured the dredger, and brought to light the fact that the price paid for this second-hand dredger exceeded by \$22,000 its price when new. Furthermore, following its purchase, repairs had to be made and accessories bought at a cost of more than \$25,000, in order to equip it for the work planned. It appeared that the dredger had been purchased by Messrs. Clark and Henry from the West Sacramento land company with dubious agreements as to financial advantages on all hands. Although the actual profit was divided into substantial sums and one portion of it, amounting to \$5,381, was acknowledged to have been received by the

surveyor for Alameda county as his commission in the deal, the grand jury report on the matter cast no suspicion of grafting on any city official. The report stated that the jury found the dredger well-suited for the work intended. In the meantime, the committee of 100 had brought to public attention the fact that the city council had already spent its appropriation of \$180,000, and \$30,000 more, for dredging, with the work only three-quarters completed, and in February it filed its intention of starting recall proceedings against Commissioners Anderson and Baccus. The commissioners were accused of general extravagance and maladministration in the execution of their duties; Commissioner Anderson being specifically charged with engineering the dredger deal and Commissioner Baccus of voting for it and of passing inferior street work. Both men denied the charges formally. The recall petitions were filed, each with a sufficient surplus of signatures. They were, however, thrown out by the city clerk, who found that out of the 8,096 submitted only two were prepared according to the requirements of the city charter, which demands not only one signature favoring the recall, but a second, under oath, confirming the first. This furnished grounds for another probe by the grand jury with possibility of indictments for forgery.

Two other alleged sources of dishonest gains in Oakland concerned printing contracts in Alameda county and the city's grant of property to the San Francisco-Oakland terminal railways. In the first case, it was claimed that collusion existed among the printers of the county to hold up the city on its printing contracts and that time and again Oakland printers had acted together to keep up prices in submitting bids for city work. The second accusation was made by the reform candidate for mayor and asserted as illegal and as an attempt to rob the city, its grant to the railway of waterfront property valued at more than three millions of dollars. This statement was also affirmed in another campaign speech by Mr. Heney, who grilled the city administration for what he termed its gift of the Oakland waterfront to corporations for a price "less than the bootblack stands at the ferry building paid each year." On the same occasion Mr. Heney charged that there were ten thousand stuffers on the Alameda county registration rolls ready to vote at the coming election, and that the administrative affairs of the city were in the hands of a "bankers' ring," tied up with the local water and street railway company.

Terre Haute, Indianapolis, and Other Cities in Indiana.—Probably the most talked-of election corruption in the country for some time is that which has been brought to view in Terre Haute and its parallels as disclosed in other Indiana cities. In *Terre Haute*⁴ the trial for the poll-fraud conspiracy was aimed against the political system which had got control of Vigo county, although it concerned as principals 27 leaders and workers of the Democratic party. Following the November, 1914, election, 18

⁴ See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iii, p. 492.

tools of the machine, repeaters and sluggers, were arrested on an affidavit charging them with conspiracy to defraud the United States. Of these 17 confessed and pleaded guilty on indictment. The federal grand jury, after a month's investigation, finally returned an indictment involving the "higher-ups," and 126 leaders and workers of the Democratic machine were charged with conspiracy to steal the election. Nearly a hundred arrests followed soon after, including such prominent officials as Mayor Donn M. Roberts, Judge Eli Redman, Sheriff Dennis Shea, the assistant chief of police, etc. Of these, 22 who failed to furnish bonds, among them Mayor Roberts, were sent to jail. The releasing of Roberts on surety bond indemnified by Thomas Taggart, Democratic national committeeman, furnished one of the sensations of the episode. During January, 22 others were arrested, making 115 in all—8 city officials, 2 county officials, 14 city employees, 19 saloonkeepers, 15 bartenders, and many of miscellaneous connections. In this list was included practically every member of the city administration (save the chief of police who was already in jail under suspension), with Mayor Roberts regarded as the ringleader. These men between them were charged with about every variety of crime against the ballot box. A plea of guilty was made by 81 of those arrested (later 8 others followed, making the number 89), a denial of conspiracy by 8, and a demurrer by 26. Those who pleaded guilty were, in the main, ward-healers, sluggers and gunmen, although this number also included the suspended chief of police, the former assistant chief of police, the custodian of the city hall, and a few policemen and municipal employees. Mayor Roberts and Judge Redman were among those who demurred to the indictment. The demurrer questioned the jurisdiction of the United States courts in elections of this sort and the sufficiency of the indictment against the election activities of the Democratic machine in Vigo county. This objection was overruled and the indictment held good in four counts on the ground that the right to vote for a United States senator or congressman is given by the constitution, that the right to sit as election officer at such elections is also a federal right, and that conspiracy to debauch such an election is a fraud against the United States. The trial began on March 8 and ended on April 6 after an enormous number of witnesses had been called on both sides. The jury found all 26 defendants guilty—this in addition, of course, to the 89 who had so confessed themselves. Mayor Roberts received a sentence of six years' imprisonment in Leavenworth prison and a fine of \$2,000; other sentences were for five years' imprisonment and \$1,000 fine, three years and \$500, two years and \$100, etc. Thus was a clean sweep made, every one of the 115 arrested men having either pleaded guilty or been convicted. The four counts of the criminal code upon which the defendants were found guilty included conspiracy to injure persons in the exercise of civil rights, to defraud the United States, to commit an offense against the United States, and use of

the mails to promote frauds. During the government's prosecution it was shown that every element necessary for election corruption was present in Terre Haute, namely, (1) an ambitious and corrupt mayor; (2) city officers appointed by the mayor and indebted to him, and whose resignations he held in his hands; (3) a subservient police force; (4) saloons delving in politics and under his control; (5) a large tenderloin district. The maintenance of slush funds to which all the monied lower element contributed freely at the instigation of the police, helped to establish the fact, often charged, but as often denied, that a strong link existed in Terre Haute between politics and liquor. On April 25, Mayor Roberts was impeached by the city council on a seven to three vote.

In June, 1914, the grand jury of Marion county returned indictments against 15 election officers in *Indianapolis* for frauds at the county direct primaries held in the preceding month. These officers included all members of the election board and the two clerks in each of three precincts in three different wards, and they were charged with various illegal acts, principally with bribery—a state of affairs which the Indiana direct primary law makes easy for crooked politicians. The outcome of these cases was negligible,—6 being early discharged, 4 others nol-prossed on motion of the prosecutor, and the remaining 5 held over. Another investigation which was made by the same grand jury lasted during the last few months of 1914 and searched into the affairs of the 1913 legislature. In December, 34 indictments were brought in against 13 members and employees of the legislature, including Lieutenant Governor O'Neill and Secretary of State H. L. Cook, then speaker of the house. All the indictments alleged that the men named had presented or signed false claims to be paid out of legislative funds, although only one person is said to have actually received the money.

In June, 1915, came another indictment of politicians by the Marion county grand jury, when Thomas Taggart, Mayor Joseph Bell, Chief of Police Samuel Perrott, City Attorney Barrett, and 125 other Indiana politicians were charged with conspiring to commit felonies in connection with the recent county primary registration and election. Several prominent Republicans were named, although the majority were members of the Democratic party. Such unlawful acts as importing voters, repeating, tampering with election returns by election officials, use of violence, threats or restraint against voters, violation of laws concerning voting machines, etc., were alleged to have been committed. The case is as yet unsettled.

Four other cities in Indiana have discovered and prosecuted cases of grafting in the last half-year. In *Evansville* evidence was found of the same sort of corruption as that rife in Terre Haute and Indianapolis, with the same plans and methods—the work of the Democratic state machine, in fact. Four city officials of *Kokomo* were indicted in December by the

Howard county grand jury—the mayor, city attorney, the president and another member of the board of public works—charged with oppression and misconduct and malfeasance of office. All officers were practically acquitted a few weeks later, their indictments being either quashed or nol-prossed. In April, a special grand jury, called to probe rumors of misconduct in the affairs of *Newcastle*, returned an indictment against the mayor in which he was accused in five counts of failure, neglect and refusal to perform official duties, of receiving a bribe, of protecting gambling and illegal sale of liquor, and of threatening a former chief of police with dismissal in connection with the performance of duty. The charges were emphatically denied by the mayor and he was acquitted in June. At about the same time, in *Muncie*, the mayor, president of police board, chief of police, and deputy prosecuting attorney were arrested on a joint grand-jury indictment charging them with having demanded and accepted bribes. It, furthermore, charged conspiracy to prevent the enforcement of all criminal laws while a second count charged that a majority of the police board were destitute of moral character and known violators of the law.

East St. Louis, Ill.—Discouraging results have been the outcome of the trials against the various former city officials who were indicted on charge of conspiracy to defraud the city. The tale is one of diminishing numbers. In the beginning several hundred indictments were returned by the grand jury; over half of these were quashed as being insufficient, and the number of defendants was reduced to 28. In April, 1914, E. Fred Gerold, former city treasurer, was convicted on a charge of withholding city funds, and sentenced to imprisonment in the penitentiary from one to ten years. Appeal for a new trial was granted by the supreme court. In February, 1915, after nearly two years of delays on one or another account, were held the trials of six former city officials, including Charles Lambert, former mayor, J. J. Faulkner, former comptroller, and former treasurer Gerold. These cases were believed by the state to be the strongest among the various indictments held and their outcome to be indicative of success or failure in the other prosecutions. It was broadly charged in these cases that the defendants, in 1912, conspired to pay out of the treasury certain amounts appropriated for the payment of coupons of bonds issued for street improvements but which had previously been paid, and that the second payments were wrongfully diverted. Documentary evidence was introduced by the state and records identified. The jury was instructed that a conviction would be justified only on evidence that two of the accused had conspired to defraud the city and that it would not be warranted on grounds merely that any of the defendants had received money fraudulently. An acquittal of Messrs. Lambert and Faulkner was asked by the prosecutor because of lack of direct evidence against them. The offense is one of the few remaining on the Illinois statutes for which the

jury is allowed to fix the penalty. Its verdict was "not guilty." The remaining indictments against several of these same defendants and also against 3 other former city officials and 13 former aldermen will probably either be dropped or have an unsuccessful issue from the state's viewpoint.

Detroit.—In Detroit, likewise, a notorious case of graft-prosecution has come to naught and prolonged lapse of time alone has been effective to deprive the affair of most of its original shame and to substitute for the first sense of indignation at the exposed corruption a sentiment of misplaced sympathy for the accused. Its history briefly is this. Alderman "Honest Tom" Glinnan and other lesser lights were arrested in July, 1912, on bribery charges. The trials were postponed from month to month on the usual pretexts, and in March, 1913, on motion of the prosecuting attorney and against the objections of counsel for the defendant. Judge Phelan decided that a fair trial could not be had in Detroit within any reasonable time, inasmuch as the publicity given the cases had created strong impressions as to the guilt or innocence of the accused. The truth of the matter was that everybody knew conditions in Detroit to be adverse to the people's side of the case, while counsel for the defense was convinced that acquittal would probably follow a trial held in the city, no matter how conclusively guilt might be proved. Hence the request for change of venue from Wayne to Monroe county. The affair was further complicated in May by the resignation of Prosecuting Attorney Shepherd because of a threatened investigation of his office, which, he declared, would reveal facts that would strengthen the aldermanic graft cases. The new prosecutor, Allan H. Frazer, disagreed entirely with the view taken by his predecessor and by Judge Phelan, and asked for an abandonment of the change of venue proceedings and an immediate trial in Detroit. By this time counsel for the defense had changed his position and was opposed to a trial in Detroit. On technical grounds involving the respective spheres of superior and inferior courts in regard to the petition for change of venue and because of absence in Europe of the chief witness, the trial did not proceed until October. On the thirtieth day of that month the verdict of not guilty was returned for Alderman Glinnan. This man had been arrested with money actually in his pocket which, it was alleged, had been given as a bribe. But the softening influence of time and the long sequence of clever tactics used by the defense were effective in preparing the jurors' minds for the facts skillfully brought out in the trial. The theory of the defense was that Glinnan was an innocent man until he had been craftily approached and polluted by dastardly conspirators. The prosecution was unable to show anything prior to the offense and it was forbidden by the court to support its theory that Glinnan had been an habitual bribetaker and part of a clique in the council which had done so for years. The consequence inevitably was an overwhelming impression among the jurors of injured

innocence and Glinnan was acquitted. In May, 1915, the remaining "boodle" cases were struck from the court's docket after several months of postponed trials and a motion of *nolle prosequi*. The failure of the Glinnan case made it practically impossible to hope even for a different outcome in these much weaker cases and there seemed to be no good reason for the state to pay the considerable costs of another more than useless trial. The only net result of these cases seems to have been the profiting of a dozen aldermen by amounts ranging from \$100 to \$1,000.

Louisville and Pikeville, Ky.—The discovery of a shortage amounting approximately to \$14,500 in the accounts of the city comptroller of *Louisville* made clear the evil of too much confidence of one city official in another. The contributory negligence of the city treasurer in being "absolutely satisfied" of the honesty of the city comptroller and his failure to check up the accounts fall short only legally of being an equal crime in municipal administration.

Charges of bribery alleged to have been committed at the election in November, 1914, were brought on a large scale in Pikeville, where in February the trial in connection with some 1,100 indictments against about 800 voters was commenced by the circuit court. After two weeks' trial, 202 cases were disposed of, with 96 convictions, principally of negroes, each conviction carrying with it the penalty of disenfranchisement. But the proceedings received a setback in May, after a two months' postponement, when it was announced in the court that the conviction of the 100 men and 2 women charged with vote-selling and bribery would be set aside and the remaining indictments not taken up as the consequence of a recent ruling by the Kentucky Court of Appeals to the effect that two witnesses to a specific act were necessary to conviction for alleged election bribery. Courts in other districts of the state have taken steps to prevent and punish election frauds similar to those in Pikeville. Judge Betherum of the 28th Judicial District, sitting at Somerset, issued a solemn warning to all parties to guard against corruption and announced his intention in future to ask all grand juries to investigate thoroughly any violations of the election laws and to indict those shown to be guilty. The circuit court of Perry county, meeting at Hazard, began an investigation in March of vote-trafficking in its district.

In *Frankfort* the two remaining indictments against Secretary of State Crecelius were dismissed last October. These charged the defendant with obtaining money under false pretenses. Although he had admitted drawing state money and turning it over to his sister, under the construction of the law by the presiding judge it was found impossible to obtain a conviction since he was not guilty of the offense as charged unless he had appropriated the money to his own use.

St. Louis.—False registration on a large scale was charged against the board of election commissioners previous to the election held in St. Louis

on November 3, 1914. Investigation from various quarters followed,—by a grand jury, by the police, by the election commissioners, and by one newspaper,—and results showed clearly that in several river wards there was the usual amount of rooming-house registration and manipulation of registration lists which is inevitable so long as the control of election machinery can be legally kept in the hands of the politicians. Early in 1915 another wave of popular indignation against this sort of crime was felt when it was discovered that on the first 27 petitions submitted by opponents to the new parkway, 28 per cent of the signatures were found to be fraudulent. In June, 1915, August H. Kuhs, a real estate dealer and member of the board of education, was indicted on a charge of having shared in a profit of \$11,500 made through the transfer of a school site to the board.

Steubenville, Springfield, and other Municipalities in Ohio.—In March, Mayor McLeish of *Steubenville* presented charges to the city council asking for the removal of Hugh W. Patterson, city clerk and director of public safety. This was but the first outbreak of serious municipal disorder, for during the course of the following month a grand-jury indictment was brought against 42 persons—city officials, alleged gamblers and other citizens. The mayor was indicted on charge of embezzlement and extortion of small amounts of fees and costs in criminal cases, and the city-clerk-safety-director for a forged contract, obtaining money under false pretenses, and 13 illegal contractings as a city officer. Against two brothers of the mayor were brought 3 indictments charging larceny of city property. The mayor was found guilty of extortion and collecting excessive fees. The state bureau of municipal accounting was obliged to make several investigations in December of financial affairs in municipalities. It discovered in *Springfield* certain suspicious items which pointed to graft in the waterworks department and also as regards the recent bond issue. The state examiner reported in *Lebanon* a finding of nearly a thousand dollars against a member of the council and the village treasurer on the ground that they were interested in a company to which municipal business was given. In *Franklin* it was found that members of the village board of public affairs and their clerk had been voting themselves free water, and in *Corvin* a councilman who had drawn \$40 for lighting the street lamps was charged with that amount and urged to withdraw either as councilman or as street lighter.

Montgomery, Ala.—The case involving the embezzlement of \$90,000 from the funds of the state convict department is still unsettled. In this affair, during an investigation of the department in March, 1913, James G. Oakley, former president of the convict department, signed a blank check which was presented by Theodore Lacy, chief clerk, was cashed by a bank and the proceeds, \$90,000 in cash, made way with. The defendant Lacy has been tried and convicted in two instances, and

is now serving his sentence of fifteen years in the penitentiary after the affirmance of the judgments in his cases. The other two indictments against him are still pending. Mr. Oakley has twice been prosecuted for separate offenses in connection with his participation in embezzlement of the department's funds and has been acquitted; but there are several other cases remaining to be tried against him. It is interesting to note that collateral civil suits have been brought against certain banks for complicity with these two men. It was charged by the state that the banks were joint tort-feasors and were guilty of conversion. In the first of these cases the jury found for the state and its damage was assessed at one cent. The state has appealed from this verdict and the case will be again tried in November.

Jackson and Lansing, Mich.—These two cities have found themselves in difficulties owing to the charter provision which forbids a city official from participating in any contract entered into by the municipality. A member of the city council in *Jackson* charged charter violation of this sort against his fellow members and especially against the president of the board of aldermen and claimed that the financial returns were large. In *Lansing* the case of President Rikerd of the board of police and fire commissioners has aroused much feeling and a desire for a change of charter provisions. Complaint was brought by an alderman that Mr. Rikerd was also a member of a lumber firm with which the city transacted a good deal of business. Upon examination it was found that no less than twenty city officials, including the mayor, were violating a strict interpretation of the charter provisions prohibiting the city from holding financial contracts with business institutions in which city officials are interested. If the provision were to be rigidly enforced, these twenty officeholders would undoubtedly feel compelled to resign rather than to give up their business. Among them are some of the most valuable members of the city government and a number who serve without pay.

Other Cities.—A verdict of not guilty was rendered on April 25 in *Philadelphia* in the second trial of Henry Clay, John R. Wiggins and Willard H. Wales on charge of conspiracy to cheat and defraud the city. Mr. Clay was a prominent political leader and a former city official. The defendants had been convicted in the first trial under the prosecution of Assistant District Attorney Taulane. In *Des Moines* charges of extortion, graft, insubordination and conspiracy were made against two detectives recently dropped from the police force, by the head of the department of public safety, in answer to their demands for a cause of their dismissal. Charges of a less serious nature were made against the third detective who was dismissed in the shake-up. All of the officers were considered incompetent and inattentive to duty.

Discovery of a shortage of nearly \$2,000 in the accounts of the waterworks department in *Fort Worth, Texas*, last summer, created among the

city commissioners an insistence upon a complete and periodical audit of the books of all municipal departments. An additional check against grafting by city officials has been arranged in the adoption of a device which has been already used in Memphis and suggested for Chicago, for detecting the presence of corruption. This is the standing offer of \$100 as reward for proof that any city employee is guilty of grafting while holding such employment. A statement to this effect is printed on the back of every check issued by the city.

The city of *Newburgh, N. Y.*, recently adopted the charter provided by Plan C of the New York optional charter law, and in June a straw ballot was conducted by the Tax-rentpayers' league to nominate the municipal commissioners. When the count was being taken it was seen that a premeditated and carefully planned effort had been made to nullify the result of the league's attempt to get an expression of opinion in regard to candidates. More than sixty fake ballots were received. An investigation was undertaken, particularly with regard to a possible violation of the United States postal laws.

This spring a prominent Democratic politician and a woman were arrested in *Paris, Ill.*, on charge of buying votes at the city election which was held to decide upon the adoption of the commission form of government. Warrants were issued also for other well-known citizens, as well as for a few other women. It was estimated that five hundred votes were bought at prices ranging from three to twelve dollars each and a thorough investigation of the fraud was asked from the state.

So much for the graft and corruption which has actually been investigated officially even if not legally prosecuted. But a citation of these cases does not really complete the tale of municipal grafting without some mention of the many occasions which never reach the culmination of formal investigation. Such was the case in *Buffalo* where the claim was made that a "boodle fund" of \$100,000 had been raised with which to flood the city with "lying circulars, false statements, appeals to prejudice and all other engines and devices of municipal exploitation" in order to defeat the new commission charter. In *Pittsburgh*, again, a large deficit was revealed in the city's finances and the blame for it charged against the Armstrong administration. Considerable criticism of the police department was prevalent in *Minneapolis* last summer and the mayor of the city threatened to instigate a grand-jury investigation of the whole situation. The city of *Everett, Mass.*, has been characterized, by one of its aldermen in a public speech, as a "dealing city" (by which he probably means a city which makes "deals") and its administrative officers accused of a variety of corrupt acts. A similar censure, with special reference to the police department, has been made in *Sioux City, Iowa*, by union laborers, who assert a greater prevalence of graft under commission government than under the former council system.

THE HOME OF THE STREET URCHIN

BY BERNARD J. NEWMAN

Philadelphia

THERE is a growing recognition of the fact that the unit of society in a large city often is not the family, as it should be, but the neighborhood wherein the family dwells. The tendency of urban population is toward congestion. Where this takes place in any marked degree the neighborhood becomes, in a vital sense, an enlarged home, whose manifestations are animate and inanimate; animate in the life that pervades it with its work and play and sin, inanimate in its buildings, streets and pavements with their ugly monotony and disrepair. The child born into such a neighborhood becomes in a large measure the product of his environment.

The street urchin, a familiar figure in our cities, is such a child. The juvenile court has been created to take care of him; the truant officer has been appointed to corral him; the probation officer to mother him, yet all the time he is controlled by a neighborhood that is to him a vast soulless parent, moved alternatively by artificial temperatures of indulgent sympathy, brutal indifference or unrestrained cruelty. Even his home, where his family dwell, is an uncertain harbor, and though he may have parents who may wish to make it all it should be, it falls short of normal. How could it be otherwise? It is the product of civic shortsightedness and human greed. The very air that pervades it is poisoned by the stench of open sewerage or is highly charged with the carbon dioxide and organic impurities that are the products of overcrowded living and sleeping rooms.

At best the home of the urchin is one of tiny rooms, poorly lighted, oftentimes filthily kept, cold and cheerless, with no ornamentations worthy the name, overcrowded with swarming children and the ever-present boarders. It is too small to permit of privacy, too crowded to permit of forbearance, invariably so forlorn that its inmates are ashamed to bring their friends to it. As a rule it is surrounded by other similar homes,—a single cell in a vast beehive. It is so intimately a part of its environment that it cannot keep its secrets, is the subject of neighborhood interference and gossip, and makes a common cause, the lower it sinks, with all the evil surrounding it. Yet it is the home of the urchin, uninspiring, uninteresting, unsavory, discouraging, and the lad himself is often unwelcome there. To understand him one must know where he dwells, what his surroundings are and how they act upon him.

In our large cities the urchin is usually found among the foreign born

population. His parents and neighbors have come from lands where different forms of government prevail. They have brought with them various conceptions of law and order, morals and social customs, language and ideals; but they have had in common the determination to better themselves and to raise their standard of living. Little of either is usually their lot, for they come with expectations begotten of few facts and vivid stretches of imagination. To many the door of hope often closes before they have had more than a chance to peep within, causing them a greater calamity than that from which they had escaped for it denies the new while sacrificing the old. Landing here, unacquainted with our tongue, they drift to their ghettos and there become enmeshed in an environment with which they are poorly equipped to cope. Strangers in a strange land they multiply its problems. Often the effect of their environment, when it has wrought its work upon them, presents nothing worthy of pride.

It will be generally accepted without demonstration that the parents of the street lad are poor, invariably of the poorest poor, with the father intermittently working, and the older brothers working or, like their dubious sire, loafing on the street corners and sponging on their common slave,—the mother who always works. The urchins are recruited from the babes who steadily appear. Children are bred more numerous when poverty is more intense. It breaks the strain of an otherwise monotonous existence until its frequency of occurrence becomes itself monotonous. The sense of personal responsibility is small. "It is God's will," is the excuse given, and the new comer is ushered into an atmosphere of indifference. It may be the first few children are welcomed with true mother love, but by the time the eighth or tenth has been born, this fire has burned low. Even less love is shown on the paternal side. The inordinate father, with no insight into the ruin he is causing, lacks the spark of the fire which creates true parenthood. The destiny of the child can, with almost a certainty, be prophesied. From the beginning his social atmosphere is depressing, his physical inheritance nervous and his spiritual outlook materialistic and base. The ultimate result shows later on in the restlessness which characterises his ways and makes him uncertain in the face of temptations.

In the normal, growing lad there are expanding emotions which, when held in check, give him a reserve power that carries him into independent manhood, but, left uncontrolled, drive him into mischief. The unfortunate fact is that these emotions are stimulated rather than repressed by the urchin's environment. In the first place his home is an alien's home in manners and customs, yet he is not an alien. His rough and ready life in the street has rubbed off the old world restraints. Different standards of measurement arise to alienate him from his parents. He is surrounded by the new, follows its dictates and runs into its licenses.

His greater familiarity with the ways of the street, the store, the city, the language and law make him the interpreter in the home, a position that develops self importance and minimises parental authority. But should his argument be overruled his parent quickly sinks in his estimation as one who is still subservient to old world ways and is not abreast of the times. On the other hand the pitfall for the parent is equally dangerous in that if the mother accepts the lad's statement when he is deceiving her, she again falls in his estimation. In either case the result is that her counsel, when it is offered, is discounted. Long before the adolescent period when almost every boy has a trying enlargement of the ego, the street lad becomes unduly self important and self reliant and in the home tantalizingly irrepressible.

It is one of the unfortunate things in connection with the urchin's growth that he finds his guide outside the home. Occasionally it is in the school or club, but as a rule it is in the life of the street, or in the street's baser adjuncts, the darkened hallway, the back alley, the tenement cellar or roof. The consequence is that no matter how careful his mother may be or how well equipped to care for him, his point of view is antagonistic and she cannot translate his experiences into terms of developing morality. His father ought to be able so to translate his experiences, but he does not. Either he considers it too effeminate for him to undertake or he has become enamored with the liberty of the land and the license it affords and he goes his own way oblivious of his duty to his boy. Often he is a boor, if not a brute and seeks to browbeat his wife and family into abject subservience to his whims.

In consequence of these handicaps the lad's home lacks effective discipline. He is not taken to task for his mistakes in a spirit that is helpful. His parents do not know how. A sympathetic interpretation of the causes leading up to his misdemeanors is a rare thing. His vagaries, whether due to mere perverseness or to some physical defect, are treated alike. If he has been warned against certain practices, the mother does not follow up her admonitions to see that they are obeyed. She may ask him if he has obeyed her and, if he is truthful, he may confess to disobedience, for which confession he is promptly cuffed. At least that is his interpretation for when he tries the effect of a lie he escapes without a beating. He then knows he is not watched and he prevaricates. When the wall of family clannishness has been pierced by the complaint of a neighbor with whom his parents want to be on particularly good terms, then the lad is in for a hard whipping. No matter what the offense, the beating is not for his moral good but rather to give relief to the anger against him for his conduct. If meted out by his father, it is usually accompanied with oaths and is all out of proportion to the offense till the lad feels the injustice of it and grows defiant, biding the time when he will be big enough to strike back.

It is true the exigencies of living often make adequate supervision difficult. The mother may be obliged to work away from home. Many of the urchins of our cities come from homes where the mothers go office cleaning early in the morning and again in the late afternoon. The lads are left in the streets. Sometimes the mother is detained and sometimes she goes visiting while her children are locked out pending her return at ten or twelve o'clock at night.

The full effect of these various social conditions acting upon him directly in his own contact with the street and indirectly through the shortcomings of his parents is to retard the lad's grasp of himself, causing him to vacillate when he should decide and postponing for years, if not entirely, the development of those dependable traits that make for efficient citizenship.

Strong as are these influences to harm the urchin, yet there are others of like baneful effect in the home itself. If the former can be classified as social defects, these latter may be called defects of housekeeping. In a large measure the parents are responsible here also. And yet they are only partly responsible. Sharing with them the blame is that element of so called respectable society that for the sake of larger incomes is willing to sacrifice their tenants' welfare. Alike responsible are the municipalities that do not recognize the importance of their health boards and restrict their sphere of activity by limiting the funds at their disposal. In the last analysis the reason is psychological. Familiarity with dirt, plus a loss of ambition to do more than just enough to get along, produces a contentment with things as they are,—the *laissez faire* doctrine that goes along with slovenliness and discouragement in the habitat of the street urchin folk.

In a majority of cases the homes of the urchins both within and without are grossly unclean. There are many exceptions where the mother with Canute-like effort seeks to stem the tide and defies her environment by maintaining clean rooms and cleanly dressed children. These are the exceptions. The rule is contrarywise. Even though the average lad should go forth with washed face, he does not so maintain himself long. The badge of the gang is dirt and he is quick to put it on, his mother's wishes notwithstanding. Generally there are many handicaps to cleanliness. In his home, the lad is fortunate if he finds one faucet and one sink for drawing water for all household purposes. Often these are lacking. One of the toughest districts imaginable in a large American city lacks a water supply and draws all its water in cans from a well a half mile distant. A block of 56 houses in the same city has nine water fixtures and in some court properties as many as 16 houses draw their entire supply from one yard hydrant. The cheapest way to promote cleanliness is to distribute an ample supply of water.

There is another difficulty in the way of the maintenance of clean

rooms, however, wholly independent of the water supply. Thousands of rooms where the street urchins dwell are never penetrated by the sunlight. So dark are they that lamps have to be kept burning at mid-day. Germs are born there to fight unseen, to rule with deadly power, whether they are of diphtheria, tuberculosis or fever. The floors and corners are heavy with accumulated dirt. The walls are papered, oftentimes several layers thick, making excellent nesting places for broods of vermin. These latter crawl everywhere. In the bed, on the table, on the food and even on the bodies of the infants and adults who make such rooms their home. Indeed such filth is accepted as a part of the surroundings. It was in one such home that a visiting nurse found the body of a two hours old infant literally alive with crawling vermin.

With the street urchin folk in order to be clean it is not necessary to be washed but to be blind to the presence of dirt. To hide it in some corner, or to cover it under some protecting garment is an easy way to get rid of it. He was a promising diplomat who, when told his little brother could not attend a settlement party if he came unshod in his coal black, dirty feet, said, "That's all right. I'll see that he washes himself and if he won't, I'll make him put on his shoes and stockings." If he could not get his point, he could at least get the semblance of it, so that all the world but himself would be fooled. A mother in this same neighborhood objected to the physician examining her child's arm for vaccination because it was so much trouble after she had "sewed her up for the winter."

Besides the filth on the floor and in the surroundings of the rooms where these poor live, the air within is also filthy. The windows are almost always kept closed. Even were they open, many of them would only rise on a vent shaft notorious for its failure to vent and to give into the rooms a more vile air than was in them before. Those living in it for any length of time grow sluggish. It even pervades their clothing and like musk scents the air wherever they go. Added to this are the escaping gases from untrapped and defective plumbing, odors from foul toilets improperly vented, cellars used as dumps, frequently damp and musty; fumes from defects which exist because of the almost criminal neglect of society to protect itself against the shiftless, disheartened poverty on the one hand and the avaricious, soulless landlordism on the other.

Not all the blame for the defects in the lad's make-up can be laid at the door of the house in which he lives, as we have seen. His food plays an important part. Yet even were it wholesome, the atmosphere and surroundings in which it is eaten tend to interfere with its proper digestion. Even when allowance has been made for this, other factors enter. The shiftless trait which accepts dirt and its brood also accepts irregularities in other habits. Especially is this true in the preparation of the urchin's food and in his manner of eating it. He needs the proper fuel and at

regular intervals, just as any other engine of activity. His physical and moral well being depend upon it. It is an undeniable fact that the street urchin is insufficiently fed and upon unnourishing foods. As a rule his mother does not know what is good for him. What he eats is seemingly a matter of indifference providing he likes it and it is filling. So little satisfying is most of it that it leaves him with a craving which drives him to the candy store to allay. What he purchases there is for quantity and not for quality and is notorious more for its sweetness than its purity. The effect upon his stomach is disastrous. The doctor when he is called in to minister to the lad knows that the one certain defect he will have to combat is a weak stomach produced by the candy eating habit.

Moreover, besides the ill consequence attendant upon this abnormally appeased appetite, there is also an irregularity in eating which contributes its share to the lad's injury. Often he goes without breakfast, occasionally without dinner, satisfying himself with the cakes which his easily earned pennies enable him to buy. To sit at a table and quietly eat his meal is a luxury in which he seldom indulges. When he does eat from the table he almost invariably has his tea or coffee, no matter how young he may be; not infrequently, even in his infancy, he has his cup of beer or is allowed the drainings of the can which has supplied his elders. So little oversight is given to his ways that his failure to assimilate his food goes unnoticed until he is really ill. It is in the homes of his kind that quack medicines, potions that "mother used in the old country" and the ten cent doctor find their most devoted constituency. Considering all of which one quite naturally accepts the statistical records of the stunted physical development of the street urchins when contrasted with lads favored with a more normal environment.

Perhaps the most trying of all influences traceable to his home and thrust upon him long before he can see the necessity for personal purity, originate in his perverted knowledge of sex. He is not to blame. He is the victim of narrow quarters and a large family and overcrowded rooms. The poorer his parents are, the less they can afford to pay and the fewer rooms they can occupy. Thousands of families in our large cities have three or less rooms each. Not infrequently five and seven persons occupy one room and carry on there all their household tasks, eat and sleep and entertain their friends. They even share their narrow quarters with boarders. Beds are overcrowded and privacy rudely assaulted amid such conditions. What chance has the untutored boy or girl in such homes to even know the sanctity of the person, let alone the practice of chastity! Every safeguard instinctive to the girl to protect herself is worn down, and with its decline goes a corresponding weakness in the boy. Not only does he become acquainted at first hand with sexual abuse, but in many instances he yields to the bribes of men to commit even graver crimes. When one realizes what a factor the narrow quarters

and the overcrowded apartments play in the breaking down of moral restraints, one understands how in a large city morality looses its leash and there is a lassitude in social cleanliness and the social evil looms large in the problem of policing.

Privacy in the home, a motherly atmosphere, a fatherly supervision, a correct interpretation of manhood, a pure, unifying family love, a strong reliance upon religious truths and the example of a consecrated devotion to all that is best, are denied to the street urchin. These fortresses for juvenile protection are not manned. Long before the lad is prepared, he has to face problems in living weighty even for the adult. It is no wonder that he fails. He is the creature of circumstances, the plaything of fortune, the product of a lack of civic foresight, the victim of defective municipal administration. The failure of society to eliminate the conditions that burden him, force him and his kind to fight hard when the vision comes to them, to establish themselves and their ideals on the plane of civic righteousness. Put not the blame upon him. He is what he has been made. And the factory that is turning out replicas of him today will keep on producing in kind until an enlightened public grows to realize the true meaning of Burns' words, "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn."

NEW SOURCES OF CITY REVENUE

BY ROBERT MURRAY HAIG, PH.D.¹

New York City

THE financial position of most American cities can scarcely be described as enviable. Called upon to perform many important and expensive functions and pressed constantly from all sides to assume new ones, they are nevertheless crippled by restrictions on their powers to levy taxes and to incur indebtedness and hampered in the accomplishment of their ends by state legislatures which are usually suspicious and often positively unfriendly. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that city officials should have a chronic hunger for suggestions as to new sources of revenue. Recently the eagerness in a number of cities has become particularly acute; in some cases new revenues must be found soon if very serious consequences are to be avoided. In this paper the situations in several of our larger cities will be outlined briefly and some of the more promising of the suggested remedies will be examined.

St. Louis is fairly typical of a number of our middle western cities which depend almost entirely upon the general property tax. The city tax rate is merged with the rate levied for state, school and several other purposes to form the total tax rate which for six years has remained constant at \$2.22 on the \$100 of assessed valuation. This rate seems high until it is realized that property is considerably undervalued, being assessed, according to the census authorities, at little more than half of its full market price.² City expenses have been steadily increasing, but the income has also been expanding even though that part of the tax rate which is levied for strictly municipal purposes has shown a slight decrease.³ This was possible because of the remarkably even and steady growth in the tax base which has increased approximately

¹ Instructor in Economics, Columbia University; Expert for the Committee on Taxation of the City of New York; Author of "A History of the General Property Tax in Illinois," "The Exemption of Improvements from Taxation in Canada and the United States" and "Some Probable Effects of the Exemption of Improvements in the City of New York."

² "City Finances, special report of the comptroller of St. Louis," December 17, 1914, p. 7. The rate has not exceeded \$2.22 since 1898 and has been as low as \$1.90. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³ The rate levied to secure "municipal revenue" has been as follows:

1909.....	\$1.10	1912.....	\$1.03
1910.....	1.12	1913.....	1.00
1911.....	1.03	1914.....	1.00

During these years the total tax rate was constantly \$2.22. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

15 per cent every four years.⁴ But now there has been an interruption of this growth, the increases in the assessed valuations⁵ for the past two years being negligible, while the requirements of the various departments have increased considerably. Comptroller James Y. Player, in a comprehensive special report, makes very plain the plight of the city. He shows that for 1915⁶ the estimated requirements of the departments exceeded the available revenues by more than \$1,500,000⁷ even though the tax rate had been advanced fifteen points. An advance of twenty-nine points might be made before the constitutional limit was reached, but even this maximum rate would not produce enough revenue. The alternative of increasing the tax base by assessing property at a figure more nearly approaching its cash value suggested itself but it was found that an increase of \$70,000,000, or about 12 per cent over the 1914 figures would be necessary. This undervaluation of property, of course, beclouds the situation, for it is impossible to determine its exact degree. Increasing the assessment means heavier taxes just as surely as increasing the tax rate, although there are sometimes political or other reasons for preferring the former course. Neither of these expedients seems to recommend itself strongly in St. Louis. The comptroller summarizes the situation as follows:

We have now reached a point, however, where we must devise and establish some new source of revenue, or else advance at once to the constitutional limitation of debt-making power and taxation. Either that or we must capitalize the future as other large cities are doing, by fixing the assessed valuation of property for the purposes of taxation far beyond the actual value or selling price. Or, as an alternative, we might practice, for a time at least, a reasonable economy.

This last sentence contains the suggestion in which the comptroller has faith. In a letter⁸ he reiterates that he thinks "the answer to all of the problems that have so far developed is *economy*."

Although its immediate necessities appear not to be so pressing as those of St. Louis, the general position of Chicago is very similar. Certainly no large city is at present more restricted in its financial possibilities than Chicago. It possesses what is probably the most awkward organization and most confused distribution of functions and taxing powers extant to-day. The general property tax, in its most primitive form, is depended upon for the bulk of its revenue and nowhere has the system

⁴ The exact figures are: 1898-1901, 14.8 per cent; 1902-1905, 16.8 per cent; 1906-1909, 16.6 per cent; and 1910-1913, 13.8 per cent. One remarkable fact in the St. Louis situation is that personal property forms a larger share of the tax base to-day than it did in 1898. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁵ 0.29 per cent in 1914 and 2.48 per cent in 1915. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁶ Fiscal year ending April 12.

⁷ \$1,551,000. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁸ Dated April 29, 1915.

shown itself less dependable. The assessment of personal property is a farce. For example, investigations made a few years ago showed that approximately only one mortgage in every 1,000 was listed for taxation. Chicago has worn chains so long that they seem now to be regarded with indifference or even affection. An opportunity to be freed of some of the bonds will soon be presented, the legislature at its last session having decided to submit a constitutional amendment permitting the classification of property for taxation.⁹ This moderate measure finds its origin in the recommendation of the special tax commission appointed five years ago and constitutes the first and essential step toward the establishment of a tax system which would put Chicago finances on an equal footing with those of other cities of her class.

The city debt seems not to be one of the major causes of distress in St. Louis and Chicago,¹⁰ but in Pittsburgh this is a question of very grave importance. There the debt service for 1915 calls for the expenditure of \$3,765,397 or approximately 30 per cent of the entire revenue of the city.¹¹ Aroused by the rapid growth in the debt and in general municipal expenditures, the Pittsburgh voters' league has issued a communication, pointing out the "serious financial crisis" which confronts the city and demanding action from the city authorities. Expenditures during the past ten years have increased 62.5 per cent, while population has increased 14.7 per cent. Because of an effort to keep down the rate of taxation, expenditures have exceeded revenues for the past three years, giving rise to a total cash shortage of more than a million dollars in 1914¹² and a floating debt of more than four million.¹³ Criticism is directed toward the management of the debt, *viz.*, the use of 30 year bonds for improvements which are essentially temporary in character, and the piling up of

⁹ The proposed amendment reads as follows:

ARTICLE IX

SECTION 14. From and after the date when this section shall be in force the powers of the general assembly over the subject matter of the taxation of personal property shall be as complete and unrestricted as they would be if sections one (1), three (3), nine (9) and ten (10), of this article of the constitution did not exist; *provided, however*, that any tax levied upon personal property must be uniform as to persons and property of the same class within the jurisdiction of the body imposing the same, and all exemptions from taxation shall be by general law, and shall be revocable by the general assembly at any time.

¹⁰ It is true that there is some agitation in Chicago for greater freedom in incurring indebtedness. It is urged in some quarters that bonds issued for commercial enterprises be not counted in computing borrowing powers. *Chicago Examiner*, Dec. 11, 1914. The so-called Juul Law has been so amended as to put the rate necessary to meet interest and sinking fund charges beyond the maximum tax rate.

¹¹ Communication addressed to the mayor and council of Pittsburgh by the executive committee of the voters' league, dated February 2, 1915.

¹² \$1,198,589. *Ibid.*

¹³ \$4,244,371. *Ibid.*

the floating debt. The administration of the special assessment system is sharply criticised. The league demands that a financial program be adopted covering a period of at least ten years and that plans be made to provide the necessary funds. Studies must be made as to "what new sources of revenue can be found?" The communication declares that "real estate cannot bear higher taxes without absolutely endangering the city's future. Yet if Pittsburgh is to keep its place with progressive cities it must increase its activities in many directions. The only hope, therefore, is to find new sources of revenue; to cut the present cost of operation; and to make no improvements or add new activities without a well-defined program based on a businesslike financial policy." What these new sources should be, however, is not suggested.

In Pennsylvania there is substantial separation of the sources of revenue; moreover, Pittsburgh seems to have little difficulty in securing such changes in her tax laws as is desirable.¹⁴ Recently radical changes have been made there, including the adoption of the plan to reduce gradually the tax on buildings. Because of the very complicated situation which formerly existed in Pittsburgh,¹⁵ it is difficult to determine whether the changes will mean increased or decreased revenues. What will be done to secure revenues for Pittsburgh under these conditions will be watched with interest. It may be noted that the league believes that the entire solution is not to be sought in economy and efficiency. "Unquestionably substantial saving can be made" reads the communication, but it is felt that something must also be done to increase revenues.

The financial troubles of the Ohio cities have been so fully treated in recent articles in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW¹⁶ and elsewhere, that they will be merely mentioned here. It will be recalled that the immediate cause of the present difficulty is a tax limitation law imposed by the legislature. The explanation of at least part of the sentiment which is responsible for this limitation on tax rates is to be sought in the objection on the part of a considerable number to the great increases in municipal expenditures. Then there is an almost inevitable clash between what the cities want and what the predominantly rural legislature thinks they should have.¹⁷ The Ohio situation seems likely to result in a great impetus to both the home-rule and the tax-reform move-

¹⁴ The cities of Pennsylvania are so grouped as to make Scranton the only companion of Pittsburgh in its class.

¹⁵ There was a peculiar classification of land and a system of local rates in school districts.

¹⁶ Cf. S. Gale Lowrie, "Municipal revenues in Ohio," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, April, 1915, pp. 254-261; Karl F. Geiser, "The financial condition of Ohio municipalities," *ibid.*, July, 1915, pp. 453-455; and O. C. Lockhart, "Recent developments in taxation in Ohio," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, May, 1915, pp. 480-521.

¹⁷ Cf. Remarks of Senator Herman Fellingner and C. T. Gallagher. *Dayton News*, May 1, 1915.

ments. The report of the Cleveland civic league on taxation in Ohio recommends that the sources of state and local revenue be separated, and that the general property tax be so modified as to permit the classification of property for the purposes of taxation.¹⁸ The report of the committee appointed by the governor of Ohio joins with the Cleveland report in recommending the separation of the sources but makes no other suggestions of more than local interest.¹⁹

Similar to the Ohio cities in most of the essentials of its problem is Birmingham, Alabama. There is a clause in the constitution of Alabama which forbids a tax rate of more than one per cent for all purposes. This applies even to rates levied to meet debt charges and has operated to the great disadvantage of Alabama municipalities in their attempts to float loans.²⁰ Now pressure against this restriction comes from another direction. Birmingham finds that it cannot raise sufficient funds from a rate so low as this. During the past three years, a deficit of nearly a million dollars²¹ has accumulated. The problem of how to care for this deficit and how to prevent the accumulation of another was referred by the board of commissioners to a committee of 100 citizens. A sub-committee reported to this body that there was almost nothing to criticize in the administration of the city's finances and that the problem was chiefly one of securing more revenue. It was suggested that the existing deficit be bonded and relief sought from the constitutional restriction on the rate. The city officials desire to be allowed to increase the rate from one to one and one-half per cent. The most interesting part of the Birmingham plan, however, is not a proposal for new revenue, but an arrangement whereby a budget involving an increase in the tax rate above one per cent must be submitted to the electors before it can be put into effect.

If space permitted it might be of interest to describe the fight which Mayor Curley of Boston is making against the debt policy of that city. It is his belief that "the proper way to administer the city's finances is to pay as we go, out of taxes, and stop borrowing," and he would have the legislature take from the city power to borrow for any purpose except rapid transit,²² which would seem to imply decreased functions or greater revenues for Boston. It may be noted in passing that through acts passed in 1907, 1910 and 1913, Boston now collects approximately \$75,000 annually in fees for permits to erect signs and to obstruct the streets in various fashions.²³

¹⁸ Taxation in Ohio, Report of the civic league of Cleveland, 1915, pp. 10-12.

¹⁹ Report of the committee for an investigation of finances of municipalities, pp. 21-25.

²⁰ Letter of Harris Forbes & Co. to the president of the board of commissioners of Birmingham, Alabama.

²¹ \$880,460.22 on September 30, 1914. Report of the sub-committee to investigate expenditures of the city of Birmingham, p. 5.

²² *Boston City Record*, Feb. 20, 1915, p. 174. Quoted in *New York Municipal Reference Library Notes*, vol. i, p. 74.

²³ Acts of Mass. 1907, c. 584; 1910, c. 571; and 1913, c. 680. Letter from City Treasurer Charles H. Slattery, dated April 2, 1915.

It would be of interest also to recount in detail the efforts of Baltimore to increase the city's resources by the adoption of businesslike methods. By prompt payment of bills, enough money has been saved to pay the mayor's salary. The utilization of surplus power from the high-pressure station was used to heat and light several public buildings. Centralized purchases and a municipal insurance fund were other efforts toward economy. By a readjustment in market fees and water rates, deficits in these departments were eliminated. Here, as in Boston, some additional revenue is being obtained from fees for signs and obstructions. Finally, special assessments for local improvements are being more widely used than was formerly the case.²⁴

The most interesting problem has been reserved until last—that which is now troubling the city of New York, for in New York most of the suggestions now being considered in other cities have already been put into operation. Here the separation of sources may be called the normal situation, for it is only when there is some special need that a state rate is added to the local rate on real estate and personal property; and full value assessments, the fruit of separation of sources, have been achieved. The classification of the base has been in force for years. Mortgages and secured debts are given separate treatment under a recording tax and are then exempt from the general tax rate. Indeed, so much personal property has been exempted that scarcely any remains on the tax rolls, this element constituting less than 5 per cent of the tax base in 1914.²⁵ Here there exists what is acknowledged by experts to be the best assessment of real estate in the world. There may be still an opportunity for economy in some directions, but the city is in control of an administration which has chosen efficiency as its god, and further attempts to economize would probably have disappointingly small results. In spite of all this, the City of New York is financially embarrassed.

The general problem has been present in New York for some time, although it has assumed its very acute form only recently. As early as January, 1911, Mayor Gaynor, faced with the prospect of a direct state tax and increased city expenses, felt it necessary to appoint his commission on new sources of city revenue. Both the state and the city were carrying on large improvement projects. The enlargement of the Erie canal and the construction of a great net-work of roads were occupying the attention of the state while the city struggled with the problem of financing the new subway system.

The report of the Gaynor commission, submitted in January, 1913,

²⁴ Letters from Deputy Comptroller W. T. Childs, dated April 16 and 24, 1915; article in the *Baltimore Sun*, April 25, 1915; and W. T. Childs, "New sources of city revenue," *Business*, August, 1914. In Philadelphia an investigation of special assessments is under way with the object of extending their use.

²⁵ Report of commissioners of taxes and assessments of city of New York, 1914, p. 5.

contained some suggestions of exceedingly great interest.²⁶ It proposed, for example, a special tax on the future increases in land values, patterned somewhat after the English and German increment taxes, but having distinct features of its own. It suggested that the expenses of constructing rapid transit lines be levied upon the real estate especially benefited on the special assessment principle. In the hope of securing a fuller assessment, it recommended that a lower rate be imposed on personal property. A heavy tax on billboards and signs was also urged. The report caused much discussion, but with the death of Mayor Gaynor and a change of administration, the work of this commission was almost entirely barren of practical results.

One proposal which has been agitated in the city of New York for a number of years is the untaxing of buildings. The Gaynor commission did not consider this a "new source of revenue," and made no recommendation in regard to it. When John Purroy Mitchel became mayor, this problem was pressed upon him, and it was primarily to aid him in determining what should be done with this proposal that he appointed in April, 1914, his committee on taxation. It immediately started an investigation into the probable effects of reducing the tax on buildings and began a study of some other aspects of the financial situation of the city, but, before much time had elapsed, violent changes took place which entirely altered the main problem of the committee.

The shock came with the declaration of war when the city found itself embarrassed in connection with the payment of its foreign creditors. Approximately \$80,000,000 was due in England and France and payment was desired in gold. Under the existing conditions in the loan and foreign exchange markets, the problem of meeting these obligations was extremely serious. A plan was finally evolved, however, whereby a syndicate was formed to furnish the gold to pay off the city's maturing obligations. To accomplish this, one-, two- and three-year notes were issued at 6 per cent interest to the amount of \$100,000,000. It can be readily seen that this was an expensive operation. Under normal conditions, the obligations could have been refunded at much lower cost. Thanks to the co-operation of the banks, the city's credit was saved, but it was necessary to look forward to paying off this "war loan" within three years.

Moreover, the situation was made the occasion for a radical change in the debt policy of the city. At the instance of the bankers, the practice of paying for non-revenue-producing improvements by long-term bonds was abandoned. To make the transition easier it was agreed that short-time bonds should be used to some extent for four years: the first year, one-fourth of such expenses to be paid in cash and three-fourths in fifteen-year bonds. Each year an additional one-fourth was to be paid in cash. This policy means, of course, a necessity for increased revenues.

²⁶ Report of the Commission on New Sources of City Revenue, p. 14.

In addition, there has been an increase in uncollectible taxes in New York and the war probably must be charged with part of the responsibility for this. The general cost of the debt service is increasing rapidly, as are also the expenses for school and several other purposes.

Meanwhile the finances of the state had begun to cause alarm. The legislature in 1915 decided to levy a direct tax of approximately \$19,000,000. As to the necessity for this tax, there is bitter dispute concerning the merits of which it is unnecessary to enter here. The significance for the city is that about 68 per cent of this great sum will be charged to the city in 1916 and must be made a part of the city budget.

The situation then is this: the 1915 budget, in spite of great economies and because of conditions over which the administration had no control, increased about six million dollars—to \$198,989,786.52. This raised the tax rate in Manhattan from \$1.78 to \$1.87. This rate is considered high in view of the full-value assessment, and real estate owners, who have not had a happy time of it during the past few years, are complaining bitterly. The increase in the 1915 budget is not to be compared with the further increase which will be necessary in 1916. It is felt that no great cuts can be made in the estimates, pared as they already are in the 1915 budget. The pay-as-you-go policy then becomes effective and will involve the addition of at least \$6,000,000 to the budget and the direct state tax will add approximately \$13,500,000 more. Careful estimates put the probable tax rate for 1916 at 2.15. Some prophets foresee a rate of 2.40 within three or four years. Is it exaggeration, therefore, to say that the plight of New York is the most serious of all?

The mayor looks to his committee on taxation for suggestions as to how the great increase in the tax rate can be avoided. The committee has not yet made its report but we have the public utterances of Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman, chairman of the executive committee of the mayor's body of advisors, and these show which way the wind is blowing. On April 20 in addressing a public gathering Professor Seligman said:

The only thing left for us to do is to find new sources of revenue. Now the fact is that our taxes are as high as they are because we have been raising our revenue from entirely one source. All of our taxes have been on real estate and real estate can stand no more burden. But there is in this city such a thing as a social income, and we have left that untouched. Do you know that from 45 to 47 per cent of the income tax of the United States was raised right here in New York? That is, the people paid nearly one-half of the federal income tax, and yet we say we can't afford to support our city.²⁷

Thus the way is paved for the very interesting announcement which Professor Seligman made in his presidential address before the National tax association in San Francisco in August. After reviewing the possibilities of the situation, he registers his conviction that the way out for the city of New York is the development of a new source of revenue in

²⁷ *New York Times*, April 20, 1915.

the nature of a municipal income tax. He does not blind himself to the difficulties in the way of such a plan. Indeed his realization of their importance has until recently caused him to oppose strongly all efforts to establish even state income taxes; but, with the establishment of the federal income tax, conditions have been considerably modified, and it is felt that a local income tax may now be tried with a fair prospect for success. Whether the project will enlist the support of the committee on taxation, the municipal administration, and the people of the city, are still unsettled questions. The necessities of the present situation would make it appear probable that unless some more attractive alternative suggests itself, the next few months will see the inauguration of the municipal income tax in New York.

It remains to form some estimate of the significance of the various suggestions advanced and to outline the general possibilities in the way of new sources of revenue available for municipalities. The discussion must now necessarily assume a very vague and general form, for conditions vary so radically from city to city as to make more or less absurd definite statements as to what is desirable.

One point on which all will agree is that increased efficiency and economy is the first thing to be striven for. The elimination of waste is a most satisfactory method of increasing resources. Increasing the efficiency of the assessment departments is particularly likely to pay handsome dividends. The administration of our tax laws is in general extremely miserable. Full-value assessments with proper land value and tax maps would in some cases greatly increase revenues. Property owners submit much more gracefully to taxation when they are sure they are all on an equal footing. Increased certainty, even if it be only certainty of fairness, would release funds which are now held as insurance or as "war chests" to fight suspected assessments. As an almost essential antecedent to full-value assessments, however, separation of the sources must be secured. Here is the significance of some of the suggestions from the Ohio cities.

Economy and efficiency, however, are not sufficient of themselves. "Save the pennies and the dollars will take care of themselves" is a useful slogan for the administration, but unfortunately the adage leaves us uninformed as to the proper course of action in case the need is in higher denominations than dollars. New York needs many millions at once and the needs of some of the smaller cities are as great in proportion.

There will be general agreement, also, that little can be done toward securing new sources of revenue until municipalities are freed from restrictions which now bind some of them so closely. It therefore is often necessary, as the first step, to "open up" state constitutions so as to permit the different treatment of different classes of property for purposes of taxation. Until this is done, "classification," as urged in Ohio, is not

possible. The experiences in Maryland and several other states with the light tax on intangible property has led many to believe that this plan would in many places tempt from hiding enough of this type of property to increase revenues. The recording tax on mortgages and secured debts may claim for itself the same virtue. Fees for erecting and maintaining bill-boards, etc., might be made to yield some funds, although the revenue from such sources could not be expected to be very great.

The four most promising sources appear to be the following: first, special assessments; second, special land taxes; third, business taxes; and fourth, income taxes. Only a word can be said about each.

Special assessments have been used in certain of the western cities, notably Seattle and Portland, to an extent little realized. In Portland, for example, in 1912 the receipts from special assessments amounted to \$3,355,808, nearly as much as the receipts from the general property tax (\$4,132,350), and Portland has a population of less than 250,000. In Seattle, special assessments play a still more important part in the financial system, exceeding the general property tax in the amount of the receipts. This form of revenue has earned for itself a bad name in some quarters but there is no doubt that, if carefully administered, great sums can be raised in this manner with satisfactory results both to the property owners and to the city. The Canadian cities can teach us some lessons as to objects for which special assessments may be levied.

The suggestion of the Gaynor commission in regard to an increment tax and the action of Pueblo, Houston, Pittsburgh and Scranton in reducing the tax on buildings, suggests that public sentiment may be veering around to the idea that land should be made subject to a particularly heavy tax. What form such a tax should take depends upon local conditions, but here is a rich field which seems ready for development.

If it were not for the knowledge of the helplessness of most American cities to modify the general property tax without a constitutional amendment, there would probably have been long before this time a development of business taxes similar to those of the Canadian cities.²⁸ When the general property tax proves its uselessness as a gauge of the tax-paying ability of the business community, this seems a logical reform. In Winnipeg, in 1914, a rate of 6½ per cent on the rental value of business premises produced nearly a half million dollars (\$438,263.40).²⁹ Winnipeg's population is approximately 200,000. Many cities might find such a tax a welcome relief from the general property tax on stock-in-trade.

The municipal income tax is interesting just now to other cities than New York chiefly as an indication of what the remote future may bring to them. Probably it will appeal to them all as wise to allow New York to try the experiment. Certainly there will be an interested audience.

²⁸ There has been of course some use of this system in some of the southern cities.

²⁹ There is dissatisfaction in Winnipeg at present with the business tax but it seems to find its cause in a feeling that there is a discrimination between the retailers and wholesalers in the levy of the tax.

THE JITNEY BUS AND ITS FUTURE¹

BY WILLIAM J. LOCKE

San Francisco

ON a certain morning about nine months ago the residents of one of our Pacific coast cities might have observed an automobile running along the main street bearing a sign announcing that passengers would be carried between certain designated points in the city for the small sum of five cents. On the following morning, instead of one machine they might have seen half a dozen or more, and within a few days following thereafter their numbers were multiplied many times over. Before a month had passed the increase had caused such a congestion in the streets as sorely to try the skill and patience of the traffic police, while for pedestrians, the mere crossing of a main street had become a most hazardous undertaking.

In such a fashion did the "jitney bus" make its introduction into municipal life, bringing in its train many new problems to worry the municipal legislative mind. The nature of the idea was such that it was bound to spread rapidly and before many weeks had passed the "jitney" had made its appearance in nearly all the larger cities of this country and Canada. On March 15, 1915, Andrew Linn Bostwick, municipal librarian of St. Louis, Mo., in a report on the jitney omnibus and its regulation, stated that jitneys had been introduced in over thirty cities ranging in size from 750,000 downwards. It is quite certain, however, that this report did not include the small cities, as by that time the number in which the jitney had made its appearance exceeded that figure in California alone, and at this writing there is scarcely a city of any size in this country where the jitney bus is not operated.

For a while, after they were first introduced, many people looked upon the "jitney" as merely a fad, believing the idea would prove to be impracticable from an economical standpoint. Instead, however, the number of jitneys continued to increase, and the increase in numbers was met apparently by a corresponding increase in patronage. Later the passage of ordinances imposing a license tax and requiring an indemnity bond resulted in many jitney operators quitting the business,

¹ In the April issue (vol. iii, p. 290), William Richard Littleton discusses the motor bus and its development. He covers certain points that are also covered by Mr. Locke, but notwithstanding this, we are publishing this second article because it approaches the whole question from a different standpoint and is written by one identified with the section in which the use of the jitney bus has had its conception in this country. Mr. Locke is assistant secretary and counsel of the League of California Municipalities.

while others gave it up on finding the profits under their expectations. Nevertheless, a sufficient number has continued in the business to indicate that the jitney has come to stay.

A Los Angeles writer has summed up the jitney situation in an interesting manner. In his opinion, the "jitney bus" is a business anomaly—a business failure that is bound to stay; a failure because only rarely can the operator secure enough passengers in a day to pay the operating expense and repair costs on his car, make an adequate allowance for depreciation and pay himself a reasonable wage on a five cent fare. This is admitted by many of the drivers, so it is claimed. What they are really doing is selling the residue value in old cars to the public in nickel installments, living on their cars, if they are their own, or making a bare living from a secondhand dealer, until they can get some kind of a steady job. The men in the automobile trade point out that this kind of people and this kind of cars and conditions will be found in some cities all the time, and that as fast as one goes out of the jitney business his place will be taken by another.

There is no doubt but that the foregoing summary of the situation is correct in a large measure, but that it is not entirely so is evidenced by the fact that companies are being organized in many parts of the country to engage in this new method of transportation. In connection with this phase of the subject, the recent report of the American electric railway association, following a nation-wide and painstaking investigation, will prove interesting, if not instructive. The report says:

"Considering the case of the company that purchases machines and treats the whole matter as a business proposition, we reach a different conclusion.

The costs varying with the mileage will be placed at five-eighths of a cent per mile. Other operating expenses to be considered are insurance of all kinds, including injuries and damages, \$200 a year; cleaning, inspection and housing, say \$100 per year; wages for driver, a minimum of \$2.00 a day, or \$700 a year; management, 75 cents a mile on the basis of 75 miles a day for 350 days, \$195 per car per year. This figure is based on the expense of supervision of one of the largest taxicab companies and probably could not be equaled by a company operating less than 300 cars.

The above operating expenses may be summarized as five-eighths of a cent per car mile plus \$1,195 per year. To these must be added \$240 for interest and depreciation, and about \$5 each for state registration, personal property tax, and public vehicle license. The total thus is \$1,450 a year plus five-eighths of a cent per car mile. This includes 8 per cent return on the investment in cars (there will be little other investment necessary) and excluding the return we find the expenses to be \$4.05 a day plus five-eighths of a cent a mile. Depreciation is based on 5,000 miles a year and would likely be exceeded, inasmuch as 75 miles a day or 25,000 a year probably will be run. The depreciation estimate of the Ford Company is \$200 for 5,000 miles or four cents a mile.

There is no longer any attempt to deny the fact that the "jitney bus" has had a serious effect on the business of the street railway companies. In Los Angeles, for instance, it has been estimated that the loss amounts to \$2,000 per day, while in Winnipeg, street railroad traffic has decreased to such an extent since the advent of the jitneys as to necessitate a reduction in the number of street cars, a reorganization of routes, and a contemplated reduction in staff. Reports from Vancouver for the first quarter of the year indicate that the percentage of the gross receipts which the city will receive from the railway companies for 1915 will be from \$30,000 to \$35,000 less than last year, due to the operation of 350 jitney buses which are now carrying a majority of the passengers who formerly rode in street cars. Increased patronage of the jitneys in Memphis has necessitated a retrenchment on the part of the Memphis street car companies, involving a reduction of 30 per cent in the shop force and a cut of from ten to twenty per cent in the salaries of the remaining employes. Similar retrenchments by the street car companies are reported from Bridgeport, Conn., and Grand Rapids, Mich. The San Francisco-Oakland terminal railroads, according to the company's officials, have been losing \$500 per day in fares since the advent of the jitney. In Seattle, one company claims a loss of \$2,450 daily, while another estimates that it will carry fewer passengers this year by 21,000,-000 than it did in 1914, if the jitney competition continues.

One of the principal advantages claimed for the jitney is the fact that the average rate of speed is greater than that of the street car. It cannot be denied that this is an important advantage, which is due to a number of things. In the first place, the jitney carries but a few passengers as compared with the street car and consequently there are fewer stops to be made. Again, should the jitney come upon a slower moving vehicle or some obstacle, it can pass around it, whereas the street car, being confined to its track, must reduce its speed to that of the slower vehicle or wait until the obstacle has been removed.

Notwithstanding the short time since the advent of the jitney, much progress has been made in improving the design and appearance of these new vehicles of transportation. For example, the one used in Winnipeg is quite elaborate and has become very popular. The body inside is 13 feet long by 5½ feet in width. It is protected with storm curtains which may be removed when the weather is good. It has the appearance of an open touring car. Pneumatic tires are used on the forward wheels and solid tires on the rear. The car accommodates eighteen passengers and has spring seats upholstered in leather, which makes very comfortable riding. It is lighted at night by two electric domes in the ceiling. Push button signals are provided which are connected with a buzzer near the driver's seat. At night a green light indicates vacant seats, while a red light is shown when the car is filled.

In San Francisco, a company has been organized to operate a line of motor buses, which are to be constructed after the style of an Irish jaunting car, with two rows of seats running lengthwise, back to back, and an aisle between them. In such a car one may step up into a seat directly from the street and vice versa, without being obliged to climb over the feet of other passengers. Another advantage of this form of construction lies in the fact that the car may be filled or emptied almost immediately. Transparent roller curtains are to be provided for bad weather.

One of the first companies organized to undertake the jitney business was the Jitney service company of Odgen, Utah, which now operates three lines. In Peoria, Ill., the business has been undertaken by an old established concern of which one of the city aldermen is a member. The business in St. Louis, Mo., is handled by the Motor service company, which carries about two thousand passengers a day.

As the jitney continued to increase in numbers, a demand arose from various quarters for more stringent regulation of the business and, with the street railway companies in the lead, petitions were presented to the municipal and state authorities asking for the enactment of legislation to this effect. The Massachusetts street railway association, comprising nearly all of the street railroads in the state, had a bill introduced in the legislature requiring that all corporations formed to transport passengers in automobiles having a seating capacity of eight or more, should have a capital stock of not less than \$10,000 for each of the total number of passengers that might be carried in the largest car of the corporation. The bill further provided that all private individuals in the business should file a bond of \$500 for each passenger seat, or according to the capacity of the car. As a typical illustration of railroad opposition, it was charged that a company owning and operating the electric railways running between Los Angeles and Pasadena, was instrumental in preventing the Pacific motor bus company from securing permission to operate over a very desirable route between the cities mentioned.

However, opposition was not confined to the street railroad companies. In many instances, their employes, believing their jobs in jeopardy, made vigorous demands for more stringent regulations of the jitney. In Des Moines, for instance, a delegation from the carmen's union was appointed to watch the activities of the council during the time the jitney bus ordinance was under consideration.

There is a wide difference in the amount of license tax imposed on the jitney by various municipalities throughout the country; for example, the annual tax of Joplin, Mo., ranges from \$10 for a five-passenger car to \$40 for one carrying 26 passengers or over; in Oklahoma City, the annual tax runs from \$50 to \$150, according to capacity; in Boise from \$75 to \$150; in Spokane, \$2.50 for the original license and \$1 for its removal; in Pasa-

dena, \$50 to \$75, according to capacity; in Des Moines, \$15 to \$35, according to seating capacity; in Syracuse, \$75 to \$150, according to capacity; in Fort Worth from \$10 to \$30; in Oakland all pay \$60, and in San Antonio the license tax is \$35, and \$3.50 extra for each seat over seven.

It is universally conceded that the principal factor in determining the success or failure of the jitney business is the length of route traveled. The American electric railway association, in the report aforementioned, reached the conclusion that the jitney business will be confined to the short hauls, for the reason that the long trips will not pay. This conclusion has proved to be correct and as a result jitneys are taking the cream of the business, leaving the railway companies nothing but skimmed milk. In San Francisco, for example, while the street railway companies are required to carry passengers more than five miles across the peninsula for five cents, the jitneys operate only for one-half that distance.

In California, as in many other states, the street railway companies are obliged to pave that portion of the street lying between their tracks and two feet on either side, and they are calling public attention to the fact that not only are they obliged to submit to the competition of the jitney, but are also compelled to construct and maintain the pavement upon which their competitors operate. It is evident that municipal regulation of the jitney will be obliged to cover the distance to be traveled as well as the route. Otherwise, many of the street car companies will be forced into bankruptcy. Up to the present time, the principal extent of the regulation has been limited to protecting the public from careless or irresponsible drivers, overcrowding, indignities to female passengers, arbitrary change of routes and liability in case of accident. Other regulations cover the questions of route, the territory to be served and the seating capacity of the car. Many ordinances authorize the city council to refuse a license if the territory is already served. In Victoria the route terminates in a district instead of a street, and passengers may be taken to their homes if living within the district.

The legal status of the jitney business has not been clearly determined. In Washington the state public service commission recently decided that the jitneys are common carriers and subject to regulation by the commission. In California, however, the state commission has decided that it has no jurisdiction. In Oregon, the legislature refused to put the jitney business under control of the state commission.

The advent of the jitney has had a disastrous effect on the safety of street travel. In Los Angeles, according to statistics, a sharp increase in the number of accidents was observed coincident with the introduction of this method of transportation. In July, August and September of 1914, street accidents averaged slightly less than 400; in October, the jitneys began to appear, and street accidents ran up to 463, while in

November they reached a total of 601. The number of accidents has increased to such an alarming extent wherever the jitney has been introduced, that the Safety-first federation of America has taken the matter up for special attention and, according to reports, plans for the regulation of the jitney, national in scope, are being prepared by the executive committee of that organization.

Practically all ordinances that have been adopted on the subject of regulation require an indemnity bond ranging from \$5,000 to \$15,000, although in Washington, D. C., satisfactory assurances of responsibility are all that is required in addition to the annual license fee of \$6. A new ordinance of Syracuse, N. Y., imposes a liability bond of \$5,000 for injuries received by one person and \$15,000 for injuries received by more than one person in a single accident. In Des Moines, vigorous objection was made by the jitney operators to a \$2,000 bond, their attorney denouncing such a bond as prohibitory and discriminatory, and calling attention to the fact that no bond was required in many other cases where the nature of the business is hazardous to the public. In Philadelphia, two rival organizations of the jitney operators divided on the question of an indemnity bond, one favoring a \$2,500 bond and the other attacking it on constitutional grounds. In Minneapolis, the *Times* took up the cause of the jitney men on the bond question and asked why the owners of *private* cars were not required to give a bond. However, most of the municipal ordinances throughout the country require an indemnity bond ranging from \$5,000 for injury to or death of one person, to \$10,000 for injury to or death of more than one person, while others require an additional \$1,000 bond for possible damage to property.

Should the jitney bus be operated under a permit or a franchise? This is one of the most important questions raised in connection with its operation. The city attorney of San Diego recently held that in his opinion a municipality might prohibit the running of jitneys unless they secured a franchise. Others are of the opinion that a franchise cannot be required. Bouvier's "Law Dictionary" defines a franchise to be "a special privilege conferred by government on individuals, and which does not belong to the citizens of the country by common right," whereas another well-known authority declares that "whatever is of large public concern, so that the want of regulation and control will injuriously affect the public in its general interests, may be the subject of a franchise." This last definition was laid down by the Supreme Court of New York in the case of *People vs. Leow*.² In this connection, attention is called to the fact that the Fifth avenue coach line in New York City operated under a franchise granted directly by the state in 1886.

² Vol. 44, N. Y. Supp., p. 43.

In Denver, and also in San Antonio, no person or corporation may operate jitneys without a franchise. An act passed by the California legislature prohibited any person or corporation operating a jitney bus without first receiving a franchise or permit; however, it was not approved by the governor.

Probably the most important distinction between a permit and a franchise is the fact that the former is revocable whereas the latter is not. This being the case, it is likely that the future will see the jitney bus operating under a franchise instead of a mere permit, as sound business principles will restrain capital from investing in an enterprise that depends upon the whim of a city council for the continuance of its existence. Again, operation under a permit necessitates an indemnity bond which is not only expensive and unsatisfactory, but also objectionable for other reasons. The operation of jitney buses by organized companies under a franchise would have many advantages. For example, provision could be made for covering the long routes as well as the shorter and more favorable ones; also, arrangements for transferring passengers from one line to another. The grant of a franchise could be made contingent upon the municipality receiving a share of the profits. Considered in all its phases, the jitney appears to present many attractive inducements for municipal ownership and operation.

There is every indication that the "jitney bus" is the forerunner of the trackless car, something that the world has been looking for for many years. If such is the fact, and it means that the time has arrived when vehicles may be run over a smooth pavement by their own motive power as cheaply as the ordinary trolley car running on a track, then there is certainly cause for congratulation. The greatest single item of expense is the tires, and the invention of a satisfactory substitute for the pneumatic tire would remove absolutely any question as to the success of this new means of transportation.

The elimination of the car track would give our streets a much more pleasing appearance and remove a source of more or less danger, all of which and much more may be said by way of argument for abolition of the poles and overhead wires. The trackless car is speedy and comparatively noiseless. In case of a breakdown it may be run to one side of the street temporarily and the passengers transferred to another car. The whole line would not be put out of commission in any event, and there would be no such thing as a blockade. Again, in case of congestion some cars could be transferred for the time being to adjacent parallel streets. Last but not least, among the many advantages would be the elimination of noise, thereby conducing to better health and to the more peaceful enjoyment of life.

SHORT ARTICLES

THE RAPID INCREASE IN MUNICIPAL EXPENDITURE

BY PROFESSOR RALPH E. GEORGE

Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash.

THE rapid increase in municipal expenditures has been conspicuous in recent years. The assumption of new activities together with a remarkable expansion of old functions has resulted in enormous expenditures on the part of the large cities. Nor is this increase confined to the large cities alone. Due partly to the desire to imitate the metropolitan district, and partly to the real needs of the communities, the smaller cities have likewise been increasing their payments. This increase of expenditures has been severely criticised. Three lines of attack have been prominent in recent discussions: (1) it is urged that the enormous expenditures are largely due to waste, unbusinesslike methods and corruption; (2) increased taxation as the result of increased expenditure is condemned as bad in itself, thus condemning present increased expenditures; (3) the objects of expenditure are attacked as not being essential or even beneficial to the municipalities. In view of the increasing importance which the municipalities are assuming in financial and social questions, an examination of these arguments is important.

(1) The tendency to increase appropriations, national, state, and municipal, in the opinion of many discloses a weakness in the forms of a democratic government. Present expenditures are considered in large part uneconomic, the results of reckless extravagance. This viewpoint is partly justified by the facts. Duplication of work by different departments; the corruption which has prevailed in American cities; and the tardy adoption of sound business methods and adequate supervision have been responsible for considerable unnecessary expenditures. So far as the increasing expenditures are the result of the above causes, the opponents of large appropriations are correct.

Such objections, however, will not be so forceful in the future as in the past. Business methods are being adopted, greater publicity concerning municipal activities is eradicating corruption and inefficiency in the cities, and a better tone of civic morality is pervading the atmosphere. The very size of the appropriations has furthered reform. Citizens interested in municipal affairs have organized bureaus of municipal research to secure accurate information. These bureaus, together with

other civic organizations, have been instrumental in attracting widespread attention to the municipal government. Voters are becoming interested; they are watching the city officials; they are demanding more information.

At the same time, moreover, a change is taking place in the character and ability of the administrative officials. Able men are brought to the city as heads of important departments. Efficiency, not division of the spoils, is becoming their watchword. A successful feature of the European city system is secured when administrative officers are chosen from the ablest men in the field, not from party leaders. In Philadelphia the director of public works is a noted efficiency engineer and chooses for his subordinates the ablest men available. In New York this reform is even more pronounced. Considering the changes now taking place in municipal government, the argument that expenditures should not be increased because they lead to extravagance and corruption will be greatly weakened in the future. Some loss there may always be as a result of popular election of city managers, yet it is doubtful whether such loss is much greater than from inefficiency in the business world. At the most, such waste would need to be great to militate against needed activities carried on by the cities.

(2) For political purposes the argument against increased taxation is probably the most prominent. Increased expenditures mean increased taxation. The latter is unpopular with the taxpayers. Indeed it is unpopular with the entire city electorate, if past elections afford any criterion. In Philadelphia, the organization won a recent councilmanic election after a campaign directed partly against increased taxation. The biggest majorities came from the densely populated wards comprising the largest percentage of non-property holders. The popular feeling against any increase in taxation was sufficiently strong to affect seriously the outcome. Such an attitude is unjustifiable. It ignores the question as to whether the expenditures dependent upon increased taxation are themselves desirable. It is true that taxation is generally a burden. But so is the price charged for clothing. In both cases something is returned for the amount spent. The argument used in the Philadelphia campaign is one long abandoned by economists. Taxation is productive in that the city renders service to the people. The value of these services should determine whether increased taxation is or is not justifiable. The use of the campaign cry, "No increase in taxation" should be condemned as obscuring the real issue—are the proposed expenditures profitable or the reverse? Especially among the more ignorant classes of a city population is such an argument harmful, laying a basis for prejudice which will be difficult to remove later.

(3) The third line of attack would endeavor to demonstrate the lack of wisdom in large municipal expenditures. On this point there is a

wide difference of opinion. The social viewpoint of the individual determines the conclusions reached to some extent. Many services conceded to be useful are still objected to when exercised by the municipality. The determination of this issue involves a study of municipal expenditures. For what purposes are expenditures increasing most rapidly? A marked increase in both total and certain functional expenditures can be noted upon examination.

TABLE I

Percentage of increase in per capita expenditures by cities and by purposes of expenditure 1902 to 1913

	Total Expenditures	Outlays	Interest	General Departments
All Cities.....	44.8	67.7	78.8	33.0
Group I.....	39.3	30.9	125.0	33.1
Group II.....	46.3	81.9	48.6	36.5
Group III.....	40.1	382.0 ¹	3.0	22.2
Group IV.....	34.7	87.5 ¹	21.9	18.2
Group V.....	64.4	94.2	50.3	32.2

Group I—Cities having a population of over 500,000.

Group II—Cities having a population of over 300,000, less than 500,000.

Group III—Cities having a population of over 100,000, less than 300,000.

Group IV—Cities having a population of over 50,000, less than 100,000.

Group V—Cities having a population of over 30,000, less than 50,000.

* The above table shows the general trend of expenditures since 1902. The marked increase in outlays and interest payments appear to be largely responsible for the rapid rise in the per capita cost of government. Many extensive public buildings and municipal improvements have been constructed during these years. The increased interest payments are in large part due to the indebtedness incurred for public improvements. But the increased payments for outlays and interest will not fully explain the increase in total expenditures. An examination of the cost of general departments, as shown in table II indicates marked increases in the running expenses of American cities.

It here appears that, although the larger cities in groups I and II are increasing their per capita expenses rapidly, yet the smaller cities are expanding along similar lines. Especially is this true of group V, includ-

¹ Certain figures in the 1913 census report were inaccurate. In their place the 1912 figures were used. It is believed that no material difference is caused by this change.

This table and the one following are based upon "Financial Statistics of Cities for 1913," Census, pp. 61, 64; Census bulletin 126, pp. 40; special statements from census bureau, correcting Bulletin 126.

ing cities of from 30,000 to 50,000 population. The tendency to increase expenditures is affecting all cities.

TABLE II

Percentage of increase in per capita departmental expenditures by cities and by purposes of expenditure 1902-1913

	Total	General Government	Police Protection	Fire Protection	Health Conservation	Sanitation	Highways	Charities	Education	Recreation ²
All Cities....	33.0	39.8	8.7	22.3	66.6	59.1	16.5	32.1	38.0	82.0
Group I....	33.1	48.7	8.4	10.8	69.2	51.7	21.6	58.5	33.5	88.9
Group II....	36.5	35.9	17.4	45.3	57.7	32.5	46.8	45.3	35.7	66.6
Group III....	22.2	22.2	7.2	14.7	81.2 ³	76.8	.6	27.6 ⁴	45.5	200.0 ³
Group IV....	18.2	10.5	10.6	30.8	47.1	29.7	11.9 ⁴	32.1 ⁴	34.4	52.4 ³
Group V....	32.2	32.9	19.1	24.0	11.8	97.7	11.1	8.8	45.0	311.1

The two classes of expenditure, education and protection, include nearly one-half the total departmental expense. In group I the proportion devoted to education has remained stationary, but the cost of the police and fire departments has increased much less rapidly than the total. The general expenses of government have had a marked increase, constituting in 1913 nearly one seventh of the total departmental payments. In similar fashion the payments for charity, health conservation and sanitation have greatly increased. Recreation, a comparatively new object of expenditure, is beginning to claim an important position in the budget of group I cities.

In group II the total increase is greater than in group I, but the same functions are not responsible for the increase. Health conservation, fire protection, highways, charities, and recreation show the highest percentage of increase. In group III the rate of increase per capita for total departmental expenditures is much less. In this group, however, a large increase for health conservation, sanitation, recreation, and education may be noticed. Much smaller expenses for charities and highways, together with relatively small increases for police and fire protection partially offset the above increases.

In group IV the most conservative showing is to be found. For recreation, health conservation, sanitation, education and fire protection, the

² Recreation increases are computed from 1903 to 1913, except where noted only to 1912. 1902 was an exceptional year in this respect owing to the large payments made on account of the exposition at St. Louis.

³ 1912 figures used in preference to 1913 figures as noted under table I.

⁴ Decrease in percentage.

increases are marked. For recreation and sanitation, however, the rate of increase is below that of the other groups and considerable decreases for highways and charities are shown. In group V the most remarkable characteristic is the large increase in expenditures for recreation and sanitation, due partly to the slow development of these functions before 1902. This group leads also in expenditures for schools and police protection.

The expenditures per capita for all cities are rapidly increasing. The large centers of population seem to be only the leaders in this movement.⁵ This increase, however, is taking place largely along certain lines. While all functions apparently require more funds certain ones are taking the lead in the general increase.

Among these expenditures health conservation and sanitation show a high percentage of increase. In every group of cities the combined percentage for these allied functions is much higher than the percentage of total per capita increase. Recreation shows an even higher rate of increase. In each group the payments for this function have increased faster than the total expenditures. The objects for which appropriations have increased most rapidly have been outlays, interest, recreation, health and education. The question as to whether total expenditures will increase at their present rate in the future depends in considerable degree upon the expansion of the above named objects. Some investigation of the probabilities of such increase is accordingly of interest.

The tendency of cities to embark upon large improvements has already been noted. So long as this tendency remains unchecked, the cost of government must unquestionably increase. At the present time poor business conditions are causing some decrease in appropriations for outlays. But if the statements of city officials can be accepted as indicative of the future, this decrease is only temporary. Of the various functions appropriations for recreation have increased most rapidly. Private organizations undertaking this work have found it too great a task for their limited resources. The cities have been forced to undertake it. The popularity of this branch of municipal activity has led to a steady extension of the work. The acquisition and maintenance of public parks and playgrounds are costly, especially in the larger cities which most need such facilities for recreation. In view of the popularity of this function, it is reasonable to assume that expenditure for this purpose will greatly increase in the future.

The appropriations for health conservation and sanitation also bid fair

⁵ But while the per capita cost has been rising, expenditures do not appear to be increasing rapidly in proportion to wealth. Reports from Minnesota apparently show that wealth increases twice as rapidly as the per capita cost of government. If this be true throughout the United States, much of the criticism of the increasing expenditures has been at fault. Cf. E. V. Robinson's interesting paper in the *American Economic Review*, December, 1913.

to grow rapidly in the future. A more adequate knowledge of the relation which the city health department bears to the general health and efficiency of the community is causing a careful study of the needs of the city in this direction. Wherever the health department carries on its work efficiently is found a lower death rate and less sickness. Especially is this marked among the more congested districts, where many babies are saved each summer by the ministrations of the municipal doctors and nurses. In the case of education only, group II fell behind the general rate of increase. But in the cities of this group together with those larger in size, the educational system has been severely criticised. Many children have been unable to gain admission to the schools; others, when admitted, are not given adequate training owing to the congested condition of the schools. In most cities the school system needs extension and revision. The prevailing inefficiency of labor is sharply criticised. Improper education and a great influx of ignorant laborers are largely responsible for this condition. In the future, night schools must be established, trade schools introduced more widely and the present educational system made more efficient. Such changes, even with the adoption of more economical administration, will require large appropriation.

Considerations such as these would seem to indicate that the tendency of municipal expenditures to increase will become more pronounced in the future. While during the present depression retrenchment may be the policy, yet with the coming of good times the retrenchment policy will probably be abandoned. The essential issue in determining whether expenditures are justifiable is the productivity of the services to which they are devoted. All expenditures should be judged on the basis of the returns which the community receives from them. The past growth of per capita expenses could probably be justified on this basis.

THE SINGLETAX AND AMERICAN MUNICIPALITIES¹

BY SAMUEL DANZIGER

Editor, The Public, Chicago

IN A letter published in *The Public* of March 31, 1911, Henry George, Jr., explained that Vancouver, like many other municipalities of western Canada, raised its local revenue by taxing land values only. He then showed that because the tax rate was but 2 per cent on a very low valuation, the city was unnecessarily courting land speculation "with its certain penalty of enormous inflation of land prices, and then a pricking of the bubble and a dead city for a longer or shorter period."

¹ See article on "The Single Tax and American Municipalities," by Joseph Dana Miller, vol. iii, p. 737.

Commenting on Mr. George's letter, Louis F. Post in the same issue of *The Public* said:

There is nothing new about the desolating effect which Congressman George predicts for Vancouver if the people of that city content themselves with the degree of land value taxation they have now, while their exemption of improvements progressively stimulates land values. His father gave warning more than thirty years ago, in "Progress and poverty." Observing that in the better developed countries the value of the land taken as a whole is much more than sufficient to bear the entire expenses of government, the author of "Progress and poverty" wrote: "Hence it will not be enough merely to place all taxes upon the value of the land. It will be necessary, where rent exceeds the present governmental revenues, commensurately to increase the amount demanded in taxation, and to continue this increase as society progresses and rent advances." If Vancouver fails to heed this warning, let her not account for the inevitable disaster by criticizing the singletax, of which she now boasts. Her plight will be due, not to the degree of singletax she has adopted, but to the greater degree which in folly she may neglect to adopt.

The warning was disregarded, and the inevitable depression has set in. But Vancouver's citizens are intelligent and have not been misled into putting the blame on the singletax. They see that they are on the right road in taxation matters, even though they do not yet seem ready to extend the system sufficiently to put an end to industrial depression. They have shown this in electing each year a mayor and council in favor of retaining the system. At the municipal election in January, 1915, of four candidates for the mayoralty, two were singletaxers. The two singletaxers received two thirds of the total vote. The successful candidate was L. D. Taylor, locally known as "Singletax" Taylor, who was mayor in 1910 when the system was first adopted. After election Mr. Taylor was found to be disqualified to serve and a new election was ordered. He had the disqualification removed, became a candidate again and was triumphantly elected. So Vancouver's voters have surely made their position clear.

There seems to be a similar situation in the other Canadian cities that have local singletax. None of these has been misled to place the blame for a widespread industrial depression on the advance made in local taxation methods.

The Grain growers' association, the farmers' organization of western Canada, has strongly urged adoption of direct taxation of land values by the Dominion government.

In 1913 the legislature of Pennsylvania by special act provided that in the cities of Pittsburgh and Scranton the assessment for taxation of improvements on land shall be gradually reduced until they will be but half of the assessment on land. A beginning has been made at putting this system in effect. Improvements are assessed at 10 per cent below

land values. Though this beginning is very slight, it was sufficient to alarm the big land speculators of Pittsburgh, and these with the help of some local political leaders succeeded in putting through the legislature of this year a bill repealing the measure. The repealer passed in spite of protests of many civic organizations and individual citizens. However, Governor Brumbaugh wisely vetoed it and in his veto statement referred to the fact that the repealer was opposed by a larger group than had been heard on any other bill.

Pueblo, Colorado, adopted a singletax amendment to its charter in 1913. This is not to go into full effect until 1916. For the present year improvements are supposed to be taxed at one half the rate of land values. Unfortunately the tax assessor is hostile, and assessments have not been made as they should. There has consequently been no fair test. This must be remedied and probably will be.

Elections on the question of adopting local singletax have been held this year in Colorado Springs and Denver. In both places the proposition was defeated.

In California, irrigation districts may raise all irrigation expenses by a tax on land values only. A number have taken advantage of this until there is now a combined area of 1500 square miles under this system. Some of the towns in this district, such as Modesto and Oakdale, have advertised the fact that this system prevails. The Oakdale chamber of commerce has been especially active in sharing the advantage the system confers upon the town.

In Houston, Texas, Tax Commissioner J. J. Pastoriza was re-elected in March by a vote of nearly three to one on the issue of continuing the system in force since 1911 under which land values were assessed for taxation at 70 per cent and improvements at 25 per cent. However, the opponents of this system have since secured a court decision declaring it unconstitutional.

In the three states and six cities where the singletax has so far been a political issue, the combined favorable vote has amounted to 454,298.

There are in the United States five settlements, known as singletax colonies or "enclaves" in which the corporation or trustees holding title to the land devote all ground rents to public purposes. Since state laws require taxation of improvements and personal property, the colonies reimburse the tenants from the rents to the amount of the tax the state or county has levied upon them. The remaining part of the rents is used for local purposes. These colonies are Fairhope in Baldwin county, Alabama; Arden near Wilmington, Delaware; Free Acres near Summit, New Jersey; Tahanto near Harvard, Massachusetts, and Halidon, near Cumberland Mills, Maine.

Concerning these a good account is contained in the following letter in *The Public* of May 7:

If all the singletaxers had the preconceived idea of Fairhope, which I possessed before visiting the place, they would probably regard Deferred-hope as a more appropriate name for the colony than the one it bears. My surprise and gratification were immense when, a few weeks ago, I set foot on the first location where the land is not regarded as private property. The pier, with its commodious wharf extending over a third of a mile from shore, and along which the rails of the People's railroad extend; the lovely little park with its magnificent live oaks and palmettos; the inn at which we supped that first night, and, above all, the closely settled village, with its numerous dwellings of decidedly substantial character, many of which are surrounded by carefully kept citrus groves or truck gardens; all of these convey to the observer a state of prosperous contentment which no amount of dry-as-dust figures could do. One note that was particularly pleasant is the spirit of democracy which singletaxers have always predicted will result from the abolition of special privilege. I take it that this is due to the fact that in spite of the inequalities in wealth (many residents came to Fairhope in quite comfortable circumstances), the absence of any special privilege has obviated the necessity on the part of any person or group, to arrogate to themselves a special superiority.

Another interesting fact, which I dug out of the old files of the *Courier*, and other records which Mr. Gaston was kind enough to place at my disposal, was this: At the start, the singletax was a mere incident to a lot of more or less communist schemes that the founders of Fairhope had on their program. But one by one these vagaries demonstrated their own inadequacy and so suffered the fate of the unfit. Rather a neat proof of the fact that even devoted enthusiasm cannot prolong the existence of a fundamental fallacy. The original 150 acres on which the most important part of the village of Fairhope is situated, were purchased for \$771, and are today valued conservatively at over \$100,000. Besides, the village is much more uniformly built up and presents a decidedly more substantial character than does the average town of its size in the south or west.

From Fairhope I went to Arden, which place being founded by artists, conveys the artistic note more than any of the other singletax colonies or enclaves. It is just as Frank Stephens said: "Art cannot find its true expression except where the people are free and their artistic perceptions only then make themselves manifest." Space does not permit a detailed description of this delightful spot, so close to one of our great cities, yet so immeasurably removed from it in an economic sense.

Halidon and Tahanto, the two enclaves founded by Fiske Warren, are also well worth a visit. Here as in the other enclaves, the residents are freed from the payment of taxes on their labor and wealth, and while each man lives upon his own freehold, he has not been forced to pay a capitalized rent to a landlord. Fiske Warren has a plan whereby an enclave having been started, it can grow indefinitely by its own momentum, as a result of the constant increase in land values, which twenty years' experience demonstrates can be counted on with certainty. He went into this at some length and his plan seems to stand every test, but it would require considerable space to enlarge upon it and I defer doing so until some future time.

The following figures mark the growth of the gross and net incomes (after paying taxes and "fixed charges") for the four enclaves:

	Fairhope		Arden	
	Gross Rental	Net Rental	Gross Rental	Net Rental
1904.....	\$990.35			
1905.....	1,520.67	\$1,127.77		
1906.....	2,255.69	1,349.76		
1907.....	2,172.51	1,229.89		
1908.....	3,027.65	1,467.13		
1909.....	3,195.08	1,481.58		
1910.....	3,499.78	1,277.18		
1911.....	3,907.28	1,907.71	\$908.27	\$702.47
1912.....	4,457.62	1,593.47	1,631.71	1,330.14
1913.....	5,664.74	1,946.47	1,834.19	1,501.67
1914.....	5,896.30	2,479.14	1,932.60	1,511.71
1915.....	5,792.14	1,438.39	2,213.19	1,711.39

	Tahanto		Halidon	
	Gross Rental	Net Rental	Gross Rental	Net Rental
1909.....	\$10.00	\$4.00		
1910.....	66.00	33.00		
1911.....	152.00	106.00		
1912.....	180.00	180.00	\$48.00	
1913.....	633.00	633.00	87.00	
1914.....	753.00	385.00	240.00	
1915.....	1,737.17	619.46	353.42	\$197.72

Thus the entire economic rent taken for public use in the four enclaves (the figures for Free Acres are not available), totals \$10,422.50, and after paying off all state and county taxes, there remained at the disposal of the various communities the sum of \$3,867.96. In Halidon and Tahanto, in addition to paying the taxes, a definite amount is devoted each year to paying off the original cost of the land, and this charge is to be continued in small payments until the debt shall have been amortized in one hundred years. In Arden this is being done more rapidly, a debt without interest (loaned by Joseph Fels), is being paid off in ten annual installments. The plan of payment adopted in the Fiske Warren enclaves, admits of unlimited expansion in the future. As land values increase, so does the borrowing power of the enclaves, and thus new lands can be acquired, additional land values created and more land purchased from money borrowed thereon. Such a system provides a safe and lucrative investment or annuity for those having surplus funds, and will at the same time help to demonstrate to unbelievers the practicability of the singletax.

It should be said in explanation of the apparent falling off in net revenue of Fairhope for 1915, shown by the figures in the letter, that at the time a suit was pending against the corporation in which the complainant had urged its dissolution, holding that its charter was illegal. This naturally put extra expense on the colony and reduced its revenue. Since then the supreme court of Alabama in a unanimous decision has upheld the corporation.

In his message to the legislature of South Dakota in January, Governor Francis M. Byrne urged submission of an amendment to the constitution that would permit classification of property for taxation. He showed the folly of taxing the man who improves his land more than the one who holds similar land idle. The legislature adopted his suggestion and sub-

mitted the amendment. A similar amendment carried at the election in North Dakota last November. At the same time another amendment of the same nature received a majority of votes cast on it at the election in Nebraska but failed to receive the number required by the constitution to carry.

A straight out singletax amendment received 17 votes out of 39 in the Oklahoma state senate last March. In the Delaware house an amendment permitting singletax received 17 favorable votes to 8 in opposition. However 24 affirmative votes were required for passage. In the Texas house a graduated land value tax measure received a majority of eight votes but needed a two thirds vote to carry. In the Arkansas Legislature a similar measure passed the house, but failed in the senate.

The singletax movement is clearly moving onward.

A NEW POLICY TOWARDS DRUNKS AND VAGRANTS¹

BY MAX WATSON

*San Diego, Cal.*²

THE problem of the vagrant is one of the oldest we have to deal with, affording plenty of opportunity to study the question, and to experiment with methods of handling it. The usual practice of arresting a man for vagrancy or drunkenness, and committing him to a jail for any period of time can only be based on three possible reasons. First, may be considered punishment of the man for the offense with an idea of preventing him from repeating the same. This attitude becomes absurd when we consider that such charges as vagrancy and drunkenness are not crimes, but vices which have been legislated into crimes. Such a man usually has committed no crime, so that any punishment which may be meted out merely has a tendency to make him more careful to avoid arrest or indifferent, rather than to prevent a repetition of the offense, and therefore only serves to make him antagonistic toward society and its representatives.

The second reason is the protection of society by the confinement of these offenders against its laws. This also becomes absurd when we consider that with any number of jails it would be impossible to confine more than one or two per cent of this class at any one time, so that the protection which is offered society by their confinement is entirely insignificant.

¹See article on "Municipal Emergency Homes," by Edwin A. Brown, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 75.

²City Forester of San Diego. See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. i, p. 428.

The third reason is reforming the individual so that he will not voluntarily continue a vice which makes him a burden upon the community. This is the only point to be sought after, and although it has been considered under our present system it has been applied in such a way that the real object has in most cases been overlooked.

Under more progressive methods where these cases are committed to large farms the fact that the objective point is the re-establishment of the sense of individual responsibility towards society has been largely lost in the maintenance and development of the institution. It would therefore seem in order to meet the question in a rational and logical manner we would best discard all former ideas and thereby eliminate the great stumbling block.

Sufficient study has been made so that we know fairly well what the vagrant is, and what the causes for his existence are. We know also that the only objective point in any method which may be adopted is the tendency toward re-establishment of individual responsibility. No man can be reformed unless the desire for reformation is within, and he must assume the initiative for his own welfare. All that society can do is to help him assume this responsibility. He must not be pauperized either mentally or physically. He must do his own thinking and solve his own problems and wherever it is possible responsibility should be placed upon him.

Taking the channels through which the vagrant and drunk are handled we come first to a consideration of the police and the police department. The policeman is the representative of society, appointed for regulating and assisting it. It is his business to endeavor to make harmonious the relationship between individuals composing society. His attitude should be helpful, not antagonistic, and it should be his duty to avoid or lessen trouble, rather than accentuate it. A policeman should maintain this attitude toward the vagrant and drunk; it should be one of helpfulness toward a vice rather than antagonistic.

Unfortunately it is very difficult to secure men as police officers to assume this attitude. An effort should be made to secure policemen who are fairly well educated and capable of taking a broad view of life. Brains should be emphasized rather than brawn; open mindedness rather than cunningness. It may be rather a startling suggestion, but I believe policemen should be bonded so that they may be held individually responsible for their acts. This would have a tendency to make them far more responsible. In other branches of government where a man has authority he is bonded so that he is personally responsible for his actions. In the case of policemen it is not required.

Every day thousands of men are arrested for drunkenness and vagrancy with insufficient reasons as is shown by the large number who are discharged immediately or without trial. Of course in the case of drunken-

ness such an arrest is often necessary to protect the man, but with the different attitude of police such cases could be handled through municipal lodging houses, rather than the drunk cell. Considering that arrest is thought necessary such prisoners should be under police jurisdiction only until they have been brought to headquarters, where they should immediately come under other supervision. The usual methods of handling prisoners in city jails tends to destroy a man's self-respect and responsibility. It is a deplorable fact that in most cases the attitude of the police department is one of antagonism toward anyone who may come into their hands and a person has only to witness the so-called lineups in the morning at any city jail to realize how destructive this attitude must be toward any feeling of responsibility for the welfare of society which the prisoner may have.

It would be necessary to have officials at the jail who would pass immediately upon the justice of any arrest which might be made by a police officer, and settle, if possible, without the formality of a trial any causes which may have led to the arrest.

The next step to be considered is the police court. The usual police court of our country is a "six days, six dollars" affair which grinds through the cases presented in a machine-like manner with no consideration of causes and effects. Certainly the police judge, as he hears what little evidence that may be presented, cannot in so short a time take into consideration the factors and environment which may have a bearing on the case; neither can he consider what punishment or further treatment might be necessary. His authority should be limited to the question of legal cause of action, and he should not have authority to definitely fix any sentence or method in which prisoners should be handled.

If in the opinion of the police judge the cause is one for legal action, the prisoner should be turned over to authorities competent to prescribe the method of further treatment and determine under what class the prisoner should be considered. At the hearing a careful record should be kept of all evidence offered, or any points which would be of value in future consideration of the case. These records should be made by a representative of the institutions through which the prisoner is to be handled and should not be made by an official directly connected with the court.

We may here consider the different classes under which most vagrants and drunks will come and the methods of handling distinctive classes.

First are the defectives, the individual lacking in normal mentality. If a defective is a menace to the welfare of society, and shows no reason for believing that he will become anything else he should be cared for accordingly. It is not logical to confine him for a certain period of time with an idea of protecting society from the menace which he may represent and then return him to society without having lessened the menace.

If there is any logic in confining him at all, the confinement should certainly be continuous. Cases of this kind, therefore, should be handled in such a way that the individual would be as little burden as possible. This could best be accomplished through the permanent confinement of these defectives upon large farms under constant supervision. Their labor could be utilized in some way to lessen the burden upon society.

Next we consider the dipsomaniac. He is the victim of drink through some mental disorder which manifests itself through the use of alcoholic stimulants. This is a disease very similar in many ways to epilepsy, and has to be treated largely with the same methods. The dipsomaniac has no special craving for alcoholic stimulants and these periods of drunkenness are directly due to nervous disorders. We are not justified in considering the dipsomaniac in any other light than that of a man suffering from disease, and we should adopt that attitude in handling such cases. These men should be treated in institutions especially designed for their care, and although it may be impossible entirely to eliminate these periods it is often possible to lessen their frequency, and in many cases divert them from being manifested in the use of alcoholic stimulants.

An institution for handling these cases cannot be better situated than upon a large tract of land where inmates can have proper mental treatment and environment. Among institutions in this country handling the problem with results is the state institution of Massachusetts for the treatment of inebriety under the direction of Dr. Irwin H. Neff. Here inmates are considered as patients, and the sole endeavor is to return them to society improved so that they may assume a responsible position.

The third class is the drunkard whose craving for alcoholics tends to lessen his capacity as a responsible citizen. This man may be a good and willing worker, but the created appetite for liquor has almost entirely destroyed his usefulness. There is a decided distinction between the dipsomaniac and the drunkard, one is due to an inherited predisposition, the other to the acquisition of a habit. The main point to be considered in these cases is that drunkenness is a mental condition, and in order to overcome it something must be substituted in the mind of the individual for alcoholic stimulus. Dr. Neff in his Boston address, June, 1914, says: "There is no known drug which can permanently eradicate the desire for drink." All the good which any drug cure for drunkenness can accomplish is the powerful mental suggestion given the patient through taking the cure—that he is cured. Therefore it is for us to substitute wholesome and stimulating ideas so that there is no room left in the mind for alcoholics. In short, we may say, that a man is a drunkard because under existing conditions he has no reason powerful enough to be substituted for the idea of intoxication. Certainly we cannot expect to better this man's condition, unless we arouse latent forces and ambitions. The confinement of this class of men under the usual environment, for a time

destroys the sense of responsibility and leaves them a greater menace to society and themselves. These statements may seem theoretical and impractical, but as an answer we can say that anything which does not tend towards this condition is not even worth trying and simply aggravates the case.

In no way can this necessary substitute be given so well as in bringing the man in contact with the soil and encouraging a wholesome mode of living combined with proper environment. Simply giving a man work upon a farm is not helpful as many of the worst drunkards are those employed more or less regularly in the farming occupations.

The fourth are those who have lost all purpose in life, largely through continuous periods of unemployment and economic conditions. These men are commonly classed as vagrants. In many cases they do not care to work, and they continue to exist instinctively. This class is more or less addicted to the use of alcoholics, but we may consider this as a secondary, rather than a primary cause of their condition, and any punishment for the vice of vagrancy would tend to accentuate, rather than lessen it. With this class again we must work toward re-establishing individual sense of responsibility. The only thing which can possibly benefit the individual is the acquiring of a healthy mental stimulus, a purpose of existence. Many of these men have forgotten how to work and have ceased to feel responsibility. A treatment through which responsibility is placed upon them, and education along different lines of work given, is the only beneficial method. Wholesome work on a farm with proper surroundings is the most practical and logical method.

The next step is the working of such farms. These should be under the direct supervision of state authorities. This would eliminate the iniquitous practice still so prevalent where different counties try to throw the burden of these classes upon each other. It would also insure uniformity of method and possibility of greater progress. All commitments to these farms should be with indeterminate sentences. This would cause the men to realize that the length of their stay would depend entirely upon the progress they made. This would avoid the mental pauperization which is bound to occur when a definite period of commitment is stipulated. The superintendent of the institution should have the power to parole at any time, and to grant any reasonable request for a hearing from anyone desiring it.

All possible responsibility as to conduct and government should be placed upon the inmates, that the place may be self governing as far as possible. There should be no bars or means of actual confinement; as restriction tends to lessen responsibility. These liberties can at all times be regulated by those in authority. It has proven that in all cases where responsibility has been placed upon such individuals there is far less difficulty in management and greater results.

Another important feature is that all inmates should receive a wage. This gives them a sense of independence. It has been found where a wage has been paid the result in labor accomplished more than compensates for the additional expense. In cases where the man confined has a family depending upon him it should be turned over to them. In case of a single man there might be restrictions such as would prevent former associates seeking him out.

In selecting land for an institution of this kind there are certain important features to be considered. The land should be unimproved so that there would be an abundance of rough labor. The farm should also be located in a place where there is a possibility of developing various industries, such as making brick or rock quarries. The land should have value for agricultural purposes so that when developed all branches of agriculture might be pursued. All possible industries should be fostered and this would give a diversified field of labor making it possible for the inmates to be given those occupations to which they were best suited.

These institutions should be closely in touch with municipal lodging houses and employment bureaus; and everything possible done to assist the man in re-establishing himself after leaving the farm. This follow-up system should be an important feature of the work.

THE DANGER IN A MULTITUDE OF ORGANIZATIONS

BY J. LIONBERGER DAVIS¹

St. Louis

FOR over half a century there has been a striking growth of public opinion and a consequent spread of democracy. Among the remarkable phenomena which have accompanied and made possible this development have been the changes in transportation, communication, education and printing. The rapid growth of cities and a changed industrial system have brought forth conditions which are complex and confusing. An individualistic period has been succeeded by one of greater co-operation. With this development has come a tendency to form groups of likeminded persons who find co-operation necessary. At

¹ Mr. Davis was graduated from Princeton in 1900. He has served as vice-president of the St. Louis civic league; as chairman of the Conference of federations, and as chairman of the Central council of social agencies. He has also served as secretary of the first Workmen's compensation commission appointed by Governor Hadley in 1910, and as a member of the Missouri coal commission appointed by Governor Major in 1914. He is one of the vice-presidents of the American association for labor legislation, so he writes out of a personal knowledge of the situation.—EDITOR.

present this tendency has resulted in a multiplicity of organizations in city, state and nation.

It seems hardly credible that it was not until the middle of the last century that the present practice of organizing leagues, associations, societies, etc., began. Trevelyan in his "Life of John Bright" comments upon the significance of the Anti-corn Law League as a new departure in the method of conducting propaganda for a movement for the common good.

Formerly, general co-operative efforts were made through state and church, but recently there has been a tendency to create more and more agencies until at present many functions which might well be performed by either state or church are being carried on by a large and increasing number of other organizations. The state itself has become complex, lacking unity and co-ordination. The church is now divided into many churches and sects. Many of the functions once performed by the church are undertaken by charitable and social agencies, which are constantly multiplying. In business there has been the same development. There are corporations innumerable and labor organizations without number. Duplication of effort, jurisdictional controversies and confusion have resulted. The very complexity of present day life and the great number of organizations have caused many men and women to scatter their efforts and dissipate their energies.

Paradoxical as it may seem, organizations have in many cases hindered or prevented effective organization and co-operation. Their very numbers have caused confusion. It might even be said that individualism has invaded co-operative effort and that each group has become a law unto itself.

In the field of civic, social and charitable work the number of organizations has increased to such an extent that there is a serious duplication of effort and a waste of time and money, which have reached such proportions that many people are being confused and are losing interest in such work. Many splendid men and women are scattering their efforts by serving in numerous organizations or are creating a false impression by permitting the use of their names.

If the names which are marshalled on the literature of those organizations with such impressive numbers are examined it will be found that frequently men and women are either permitting their names to be used without even a cursory knowledge of the societies' activities, or that some persons have an almost superhuman capacity for being all things to all men. In the business world we find a similar condition. It is not uncommon for one man to be a director in numberless corporations. How little such directors really direct is known to every business man. The number of business enterprises which have started with impressive lists of well known men as directors and have later failed are eloquent argu-

ments for concentration and warnings against scattering of effort. Superficiality has been a characteristic of many phases of American life, and in business, as in civic and social service, conditions have been very similar. Men of cunning in business have capitalized the names of well meaning but complacent men of prominence. Men of enthusiasm in civic or social work have likewise gained support by using the names of equally complacent persons who lend their names for such purposes.

Frequently an organization is formed to accomplish a definite object, but later is perpetuated for the benefit of one or more of its officials. There are not a few instances in which zealous enthusiasts enlist a following for some cause which may be untimely or unnecessary, or which could be served far better by existing organizations. Established societies are often weakened by the splitting off of part of their membership, and confusion and duplication of effort, if not actual antagonisms, result.

It has been said by one acute observer that whenever two or three are gathered together in the name of any cause there in the midst of them is a president and a secretary and treasurer; and by another that the chief business of most active men and women is to sit on committees and attend meetings.

An analogy might be drawn between the lure of the printed page and the temptation to become a member of a number of societies. The active man is almost submerged by the mass of printed matter in newspaper, magazine, pamphlet and report; and in addition is overwhelmed by appeals from local and national organizations. Might not the old adage "read much but not many books" be paraphrased by saying "serve much but not on many committees?"

A glance at a partial list of national organizations will disclose the present situation. The following are selected as examples of the tendency to create and maintain organizations, many of which are unquestionably useful, but some of which are surely unnecessary.

- American academy of political and social science
- American political science association
- National municipal league
- League of American municipalities
- Academy of political science
- American economic association
- The American city bureau
- American society of municipal improvements
- American civic association
- National civic federation
- National civic alliance
- Civic league of America
- American civic reform union
- National reform association
- The short ballot organization
- American proportional representation league

National voters' league
 National civil service reform league
 Department of surveys and exhibits of the Russell Sage foundation.

National education association
 National society for the study of education
 League for political education
 Society for the promotion of training for public service. (Now being organized)

American social hygiene association
 American school hygiene association
 Society of sanitary and moral prophylaxis
 American public health association
 American association for the study and prevention of infant mortality
 National organization for public health nursing
 Committee of one hundred on national health
 National first aid association of America

North American civic league for emigrants
 Committee for emigrants in America
 National liberal immigration league
 National American federation for the promotion of sane and liberal immigration laws.

Playground and recreation association of America
 National child welfare exhibit association
 Department of child helping of the Russell Sage foundation
 National child welfare league
 National child labor committee
 American association for labor legislation

American school peace league
 American association for international conciliation
 American peace society
 American league to limit armaments
 American peace and arbitration league
 American society for judicial settlement of international disputes
 Church peace union
 World peace foundation
 Women's peace party
 The league to enforce peace

When it is remembered that in addition to these there are medical associations, bar associations, chambers of commerce, etc., and societies to prevent and cure special diseases, it will be seen that a multitude of organizations bewilder and confuse and must result in dissipation of effort and lack of efficiency. Should not a survey be made of the field covered by the national organizations so that greater co-operation can be brought about and unnecessary duplication of effort and confusion minimized or prevented?

In many cities there have been attempts to survey the field of charitable and social effort for the purpose of promoting co-operation and of preventing duplication. Such attempts were made necessary because of the waste and confusion caused by large numbers of local societies. The reaction against all such societies because of their numbers was seriously injuring the capacity of useful agencies and in some communities the municipality has undertaken the task of listing and approving those organizations which are performing a useful function. In Los Angeles the city has gone so far as to require an organization to be approved by a municipal board before it is permitted to solicit funds. In other cities commercial bodies have adopted the plan of endorsing approved charitable and social agencies, hoping thereby to encourage useful organizations and discourage all others. This action on the part of commercial bodies has been taken to protect their members from the constant and persistent solicitation for contributions which is carried on by the army of solicitors for the multitude of societies. In Cleveland there is a federation for charity and philanthropy which was established in 1913 "for the purpose of assisting and harmonizing the work of charitable and philanthropic organizations in Cleveland and vicinity." A committee of the Chamber of commerce had reported that the funds contributed to such organizations were given by a small number of persons and corporations whose numbers steadily decreased even though the amount contributed increased. A federated plan of giving was worked out with a resulting increase in the number of contributors and in the amount given. Better co-operative relations among the many organizations followed. In St. Louis nearly sixty agencies formed a central council of social agencies in 1912 for the purpose of promoting co-operation and preventing duplication. The council also acts as an advisory body with respect to new work or new organizations. It is making a survey of the local field of social effort and is creating standards of service. Its findings and recommendations are used by the Business men's league when applications are made to it for endorsement. As a result of this movement there have been consolidations of societies whose work overlapped; some have been dissolved, and several attempts to form new organizations have been prevented. The most important result has been better service with less expenditure of time and money and far less confusion. In the national field the same general situation demands similar treatment.

While a censorship or blue-sky law may be impracticable, it might be possible for a directory to be made up by some body having the confidence of the public which could at least give correct information about the numerous organizations seeking the support of the people. Whenever such a course of action has been carried out in local fields there has been a noticeable reduction in the numbers of organizations, due to consolidations or eliminations resulting from lack of support. The remaining

organizations have been strengthened and in many instances the local governmental agencies have enlarged their service.

Is it not time to call a halt in the formation of organizations and plead for greater concentration? Would not greater progress be made if a larger part of the splendid enthusiasm for the common good were devoted to the service of all through the older channels of state and church? Many thoughtful persons believe that if more active interest were taken in the ordinary processes of government and less time were consumed in what has been called social and civic service far better results for all could be obtained. The functions of government are increasing. Many of the tasks which confront us can be accomplished far better through the power of government than by private co-operative effort. The war on poverty, disease, vice and crime must be waged by a united nation to be really effective. Justice must be made to prevail, and justice cannot come from a part of the people, but must come from all. To combat giant evils requires resources greater than private means can supply.

An eminent expert in municipal government has said that about 3 per cent of its functions are policy making and about 97 per cent administration. It would hardly be extravagant to say that the interest of the average citizen is 97 per cent in policy making and 3 per cent in administration. What is needed in public service and in social and civic work is more interest in the every-day tasks which must be performed if substantial progress is to be made. There is little hope for substantial improvement in national, state and community life unless there is a greater participation in the ordinary processes of government. Governmental machinery must be perfected and competent officials selected for its administration and operation. The more this is done the more possible will it be for all to co-operate effectively for the common good and the less will we be enticed into this and that extra-legal organization with their tendencies to scatter effort.

That there is a need for a certain amount of co-operative effort outside of government is conceded, of course. Many movements are initiated by a few which merit and receive the support of all. Some organizations perform functions which at present cannot be performed effectively by the state, and obviously there are many organizations which have objects which are not the concern of more than a limited number of people. It is clear, too, that many of the problems of life are individual and have no relation to the subject under discussion. All co-operative effort is or should be directed towards the end of making possible a full and free development of personality.

Some organizations are formed to meet an emergency while others have for their object the spread of information. Many organizations are in effect recruiting agencies through which are enlisted many soldiers for the common good. The question of the usefulness of any organization

is clearly one of expediency. If it promotes better co-operation and does not undertake functions which existing public or private agencies can perform, it is justified if the work it undertakes is necessary.

Those who are asked to support an organization should determine, if possible, if it will perform a useful service which no other organization can or will undertake, and they should be sufficiently interested in its objects to devote the necessary time and money to support its work, and not merely lend their names.

The recent tendency toward greater co-operation among groups should be encouraged in the hope that gradually greater concentration upon the problems of modern society may be made possible. That there is such a tendency towards greater co-operation is evidenced by the formation of federations, councils, and conferences. There have been many instances in which two or more organizations have co-operated to carry on special activities. Consolidations have been urged for the purpose of unification of effort in such fields as that of the public health, and in other activities consolidations have been effected.

The remarkable growth of public opinion and of democracy are the amazement of the last half century. Never before has the average man been as interested as he is to-day in questions affecting the life of the community. But this interest is likely to lead many far afield and away from the straight and narrow way unless it is directed and concentrated upon fundamental questions. If, however, the attention of an enlightened people can be focused and concentrated upon those problems which affect the life and labor of the nation, and upon the relations between nation and nation throughout the world, democracy will be rescued from one of its greatest dangers, which comes from the confusion caused by the complexity of modern life, which co-operation and organization may diminish, but which is increased by a multitude of organizations.

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SMOKE NUISANCE

BY E. P. ROBERTS ¹

Cleveland

YOUR question as to what in my judgment "have been the more important developments along the line of the suppression of the smoke nuisance in cities" is difficult to answer because, in my opinion, smoke abatement is being obtained not by one or more pre-

¹Mr. Roberts, who is a consulting engineer, was commissioner of smoke abatement in Cleveland, Ohio, from 1913 to 1914. Prior to which he was Chairman of the Cleveland chamber of commerce committee on smoke abatement. He is a member of the American society of mechanical engineers and also of the Institute of electrical engineers, and of the American electrical railway association and past president of the Cleveland engineering society.

ponderatingly important developments, but the application of engineering design to each case, rather than special invention; and adequate construction followed by correct operation, and "public demand" being the force which has caused such activities.

Some of the lines of recent development have been as follows:

First: Ascertaining damage caused by smoke, and informing the public as to same.

Second: Increasing realization of the fact that smoke abatement is an engineering problem.

Third: An increasing appreciation by those who design fuel combustion plants in which bituminous coal is to be used, as to the necessity, if complete combustion and practically smokeless operation is to be obtained, of adequate draft (not only at the stack but also at the grates), a large combustion chamber at high temperature, adequate flame travel, and, especially for hand firing, arches, piers or other structures, to deflect and mix the gases and air.

Fourth: Increasing use of automatic stokers *properly set*. In cities where, to some extent, smoke abatement has been obtained, it is becoming appreciated that no apparatus is "fool proof" and that the general design must be correct and based on consideration of the character of coal and the character of service. A recent government bulletin makes a statement to the effect that a poor stoker properly set is better than a good stoker improperly set, from which it may be inferred that the general engineering design is more important than the specific apparatus.

Fifth: In connection with steam locomotive operation, the development of an underfeed stoker. In connection with locomotives in round-houses, the development of a washing process, and the use of a house steam line for blowers and jets.

Sixth: In connection with bituminous coal as fuel for metallurgical purposes, the development of the use of powdered fuel.

NOTES RELATIVE TO EACH OF THE ABOVE STATEMENTS

First: To obtain smoke abatement there must be a sustained public demand.

To obtain and maintain public demand each individual must be informed as to the damage to the community *and especially to him*, which results from smoke.

So to inform the public, requires that some organization of local standing investigate and report, and to maintain the demand requires that such organization maintain its activity, ascertain what is and is not being done and why, the methods and efficiency of the city smoke abatement department, the reasonableness of its rules, regulations and procedure, and the decisions of the court. A "well informed" demand is necessary; it is too much to expect that the public will be "well informed,"

but those who create and maintain the demand should be of such standing that the public will have confidence in their statements.

The Cleveland Chamber of Commerce committee on smoke abatement in 1909 was helpful as to informing the public as to the loss from smoke. The recent bulletins issued by the University of Pittsburgh, as the result of a \$40,000 investigation, are a striking example of obtaining and furnishing information.

The Chicago smoke inspector's reports have been helpful in Chicago and elsewhere. Possibly, especially in Chicago, they would have carried less weight if the statements and the work of the department had not received the backing of a strong commission, headed by an unusually active and well-known business man, and also if the public had not known that such was the fact.

A "demand" for smoke abatement may make it a live subject for the newspapers. And therefore free and, perhaps, favorable advertising become available. As a result of the cumulative effect, of public demand, civic organizations representations and newspaper comment the administration "sees its way" to provide at least approximately sufficient funds for the purpose, and is likely to decide that, from every standpoint, it is a wise expenditure and will not be adversely criticised. In addition such legal action as is necessary is obtainable, including legislative and disciplinary action. In a talk before the Cleveland Chamber of Industry November 10, 1914, I stated:

"What the community wants, demands and keeps on demanding, is what it will get from its city servants, *and is also what its city servants can give it*. This applies to the administration, the council, the subordinate executive offices, and, possibly, to the courts."

Second: Increasing realization of the fact that smoke abatement is an engineering problem.

To obtain results, engineers, observers and a clerical force are necessary. The chief should be a competent engineer of personal and professional standing. A competent engineer requires not only a reasonable salary, but also, of equal, if not greater, importance, such conditions as will enable him to obtain results. The public, or one or more civic organizations, or a commission, must not only obtain the demand, but also keep in touch with the facts, give publicity to same and maintain it. Self consciousness of duty performed is important; but recognition of such fact is desirable, and may be vital to success. Adverse criticism is to be expected; but the public should be well informed as to the facts by those whom they will not consider partial. It is difficult for the chief to preserve his enthusiasm and to maintain enthusiasm in his subordinates unless work well done is so recognized.

Third: An increasing appreciation by those who design fuel combustion plants in which bituminous coal will be used, as to the necessity, if

complete combustion and practically smokeless operation are to be obtained, of adequate draft (not only at the stack, but also at the grates), a combustion chamber at high temperature, adequate flame travel, and, especially for hand firing, arches, piers or other structures, to deflect and mix the gases and air.

Although certain general principles must, as in all engineering work, be applied, nevertheless, if the best results are to be obtained, each case is a special study. Theoretically the offender should obtain his own advisor; but practically there are few specialists on smoke abatement and, therefore, all smoke inspection or abatement offices must, to a considerable degree, act as advisory engineers. Advice cannot be given until the conditions are investigated and to do so requires time. Merely noting violations and arresting offenders has not and, for some time to come, will not prove satisfactory. Abatement by prevention, due to requiring proper design of new plants and assistance in redesigning existing plants, and advice as to operation will bring results. In some cases legal action is necessary, in order to force reconstruction and proper care, and the result of such action should discourage the continuance of smoke not only on the part of the offender but also by others. During 1912-'14 (mainly '13-'14) the new and reconstructed boiler plants in Cleveland totaled 676 boilers—95,729 h. p. Few of these plants violate the smoke ordinance often, if at all.

Fourth: Increasing use of automatic stokers *properly set*. In cities where, to some extent, smoke abatement has been obtained it is becoming appreciated that no apparatus is "fool proof" and that the general design must be correct and based on consideration of the character of coal and the character of service.

A good fireman is essential, but the means furnished to him should be proper for the purpose.

In a general way no patented apparatus is necessary, but sometimes apparatus which is patented may be helpful, if it is chosen with reference to the character of the coal, rate of combustion, degree of variability of load, etc. What is very satisfactory in one case may be a failure in another. There is probably no condition for which to obtain the best results, competition between manufacturers of the same class of apparatus is not obtainable.

Some stokers and boilers make a better combination than others, not because of being better individual units, but because they can be better set relative to each other, or better "hitched" together to make a balanced team. Stokers are advisable for any boiler exceeding 150 h. p. There must be team work and a competent driver. A good driver may get more out of a poor team than will a poor driver out of a good team. It is advisable that both be good.

Fifth: In connection with steam locomotive operation, the develop-

ment of an underfeed stoker. In connection with locomotives in round-houses the development of a washing process. Improvement of locomotive operation in Cleveland has resulted from better equipment (arches, jets and blowers and a few stokers), better instruction and supervision, and stricter discipline.

The following shows the percentage of smoke during six months' periods in Cleveland. As several thousands readings were taken the percentages are approximately correct and properly indicate comparative results, as each locomotive seen by the observer is recorded.

	Average Per Cent	No. of Readings
Second half 1912,	6.7, Ringelmann chart basis,	463
First " 1913,	4.3, " " "	1,566
Second " 1913,	3.5, " " "	2,022
First " 1914,	1.6, " " "	2,190
Second " 1914,	1.4, " " "	2,479

An underfeed stoker is, I believe, the only locomotive stoker yet developed which is successful from the smoke standpoint.

The round-house proposition is a very difficult one. Considerable improvement in Cleveland has resulted from the use of semi-bituminous coal or coke for starting fires the use of house steamline for blower, and one road is now using its standard steam jets obtaining steam from the house line (suggested by the writer), which has proved very helpful. At present, in my opinion, the most successful, from the smoke standpoint, is a washing process, such as used by the L. S. & M. S. R. R. at Chicago.

Sixth: In connection with bituminous coal as fuel for metallurgical purposes, the development of the use of powdered fuel and certain types of stokers.

Many metallurgical furnaces present very difficult features, both in fact and because of the natural opposition of the men to any change which, they fear, may affect the output, as usually they work on a tonnage basis.

Smokeless operation, using bituminous coal, requires excess air. Many processes require a reducing flame, necessitating deficiency of air. Secondary combustion beyond the reducing section is difficult to obtain. The inertia on the part of owners and men is great. I expect in the near future considerable improvement without recourse to new apparatus or special fuel. For some purposes and in plants using considerable fuel, powdered coal has proved successful. The greater use of gas is to be expected. The development of electrical precipitation of all suspended matter in gases probably has a future, especially for certain classes of fuel combustion plants.

In conclusion—Smoke Abatement is a subject in which I am deeply interested and I thank you for giving me an opportunity to make a few

statements relative thereto. As Chairman of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce Committee on Smoke Abatement for several years prior to 1912, my interest in smoke abatement commenced long before I became officially connected with the work, and has not ceased now that I have returned to my work as a consulting engineer. During a recent visit to one of the larger cities in the south I noticed an invitation by the chamber of commerce "Add to our Smoke Stacks." I filed a protest.

THE NEW YORK CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

BY CHARLES A. BEARD

New York

I

IT CAN hardly be said that the New York convention of 1915 was the product of a crying demand for constitutional revision. If the vote on the referendum calling for a new constituent assembly is to be taken as a just measure of popular interest, the overwhelming majority of the people were indifferent about the matter. It is true that there was a decided improvement in the popular vote on candidates for membership in the convention, but that may be taken as representing the normal enlargement of the vote which results from the work of party organizations and the general interest in personalities as contrasted with measures. All in all, the people of New York were reasonably satisfied with the frame of government established by the convention of 1894, and the calling of a new constituent assembly was in the main the work of partisan leaders.

Normally, the question of calling a convention would not have been submitted until 1916, but the Democrats, overcome by a false sense of security, after the Republican collapse of 1912, decided that the time was ripe to repay the Republicans for their gerrymander of 1894 and to write a constitution of their own. Accordingly, they advanced the date of submitting the question, threw the weight of the party organization in favor of it, and carried the day by a painfully small margin—the legality of which was seriously questioned. Then, to their deep chagrin, the Republicans showed a surprising resiliency and sprang back into power with an astounding vigor, electing an overwhelming majority of the delegates—116 Republicans to 52 Democrats. Moreover, it was the conservative wing of the party that was returned to power—the group represented by Mr. Root, Mr. Barnes, Mr. Wickersham, Mr. Stimson, and other leaders who had taken a decided stand against the "progressive" tendencies of 1912. In other words, according to all outward signs, the

popular mandate represented by the election of delegates called for no radical changes in the accepted institutions of New York government, except possibly in the state administration and the position of the cities, for both party organizations had endorsed the short ballot and home rule for cities. The *New York Times* doubtless voiced the sentiment of most of the New York voters when, early in the spring, it mildly suggested that, under all the circumstances, the convention was not authorized to make any important adjustments and should perform its thankless task speedily, leaving the state in peace.

Indeed, for a time, it appeared that the convention might even regard itself as instructed by events to undo the somewhat radical amendment of 1913 enlarging the police power of the legislature after the decision of the Court of Appeals in the workmen's compensation case. It was early announced that Mr. Barnes, as chairman of the committee on legislative powers, had prepared an amendment which would cut away from the law-making body the power to enact most of the measures coming under the general head of "social legislation." Indeed, there were not a few ready to prophesy that the convention, like the voters, was in a mood for "re-action" rather than "standing pat."

II

In spite of the signs unpropitious to changes of any kind, except possibly a reversion to former type, various citizens' associations in the state began, early in the year, to discuss the question of constitutional amendment from the angles of their several interests. The Short Ballot Organization, which, since its organization in 1910, had carried on a forceful propaganda in favor of simplified administration and had been largely instrumental in creating the public sentiment represented by the party endorsements, was soon in the field with its program. The Association for Labor Legislation and representatives of trade unions gave attention to the problems of labor legislation and prepared their measures for submission to the convention. The City Club, the Municipal Government Association, and the Mayors' Conference, which had for some time been carrying forward the agitation for municipal home rule, likewise reduced their proposals to order for the consideration of the delegates.

The general matter of state administration and finance was taken up, especially by the Bureau of Municipal Research. In connection with the state Department of Efficiency and Economy, the Bureau prepared an elaborate analysis of the entire administrative structure of the state which was published officially under the title of "Government of the State of New York—Organization and Functions." This volume described in the most minute detail all of the divisions, departments, commissions, and other branches of the state administration and presented precise information as to functions, officers, and salaries.

On the completion of this survey, the Bureau of Municipal Research was asked by the constitutional convention commission (a body created by the legislature to collect data and materials for the use of the convention) to prepare a critical "appraisal" of the state government on the basis of the fact-report previously published. To this call for help the Bureau responded by the publication of a volume entitled "The Constitution and Government of the State of New York" (Number 61 of the series "Municipal Research" for May, 1915). In this volume the Bureau sharply criticised the chaos now existing in state administration and called attention to the many sources of waste and inefficiency.

Instead of confining its criticism to matters of mere administrative organization, the Bureau declared that what was needed was a somewhat thorough-going reconstruction of the entire system along the following lines:

1. The consolidation of the innumerable offices and bureaus under a few responsible officers appointed by the governor and recognized as his official advisers.

2. The establishment of a state budget to be initiated by the governor and subject to reduction but not to increase by the legislature; with the proviso that appropriation measures introduced by private members should receive a two-thirds vote in order to pass.

3. The admission of the governor and his cabinet to the legislature to explain and defend administration measures.

4. The right of the governor to dissolve the legislature and appeal to the voters in case of conflict between the two branches of the government, thus providing for official leadership instead of invisible government.

5. The creation of a measure of home rule for counties and cities calculated to reduce the amount of local, special, and "pork-barrel" legislation and to concentrate the attention of the state government on measures of a general character.

After the publication of its appraisal, the Bureau, in co-operation with Hon. John G. Saxe and other members of the convention, prepared several constitutional amendments providing for a state budget and for the re-organization and consolidation of state administration.

These measures and other related propositions submitted to the convention were the subject of several hearings by the appropriate committees. At these hearings ex-President Taft, Hon. John J. Fitzgerald, Dr. Frank J. Goodnow, Dr. A. Lawrence Lowell, Dr. F. A. Cleveland, and other gentlemen of authority in the field of government and finance appeared and defended the general principles advanced in the Bureau's program. These hearings, which may be said to mark an epoch in the history of state constitution making, were published by the Bureau (Numbers 62 and 63 of "Municipal Research," June, 1915, issue), and given a wide circulation.

The efforts of those who were working for administrative and fiscal reconstruction bore the first fruit on August 4, when the convention committee on finances, revenues, and expenditures reported to the convention an amendment providing for a modified state budget system. This measure provides that the governor shall prepare and submit to the legislature a state budget, accompanied by a comprehensive statement of public finances; that the legislature may reduce or strike out items but cannot increase the governor's proposals for state administrative purposes; that the governor, comptroller, and department heads shall have the right either independently or on call of the legislature to appear to defend or explain budgetary matters. This proposal was carried by the convention and embodied in the new constitution.

The only gaps in this measure which prevent it from providing a complete executive budget are the provisions that the legislature may increase items or add new items to the governor's proposals by special law subject to executive veto, and that the governor's budget shall extend only to appropriations for state administrative purposes—leaving local “pork-barrel” appropriations outside of the budget. These points were not overlooked at the time of the passage of the amendment but it was doubtless believed to be inexpedient to disturb too violently the time-honored methods for the distribution of public plunder.

In the report which accompanied the submission of the amendment, the committee of the convention said: “To meet the objection that the governor might misuse his power and either starve objects which the legislature deems worthy or trade with individuals or localities, the power of initiation of financial legislation is left with the legislature subject to but two restrictions: (1) it must not be exercised until after the budget is disposed of by both houses; and (2) such appropriations must be made by separate bills, each for a single work or object. We believe this will adequately protect the budget system and yet keep it free from executive abuse.”¹

The committee of the convention in charge of state administrative reorganization had a more rocky road to travel than the committee in charge of the budget program. Both political parties had endorsed the short ballot, but the short ballot, like municipal home rule, may cover many designs. Ballots may be short, shorter, or shortest. Moreover, the problem involves grave questions in administrative reconstruction. A ballot cannot be shortened with a pair of scissors. The process requires careful thought about the appointment of officers, their interrelations, and their functions. Here arise clashes in both theoretical and practical politics.

The Bureau of Municipal Research proposed the popular election of the comptroller and the attorney-general—the former on the theory that

¹ Appendix to “Municipal Research,” No. 62, p. 443.

there should exist in every government an independent auditor and the latter as a concession to popular opinion. The stricter advocates of the short ballot declared in favor of only two elective officers—the governor and the lieutenant-governor. At the other extreme were some of the old “organization” men who actually proposed to lengthen the ballot by adding to the elective offices several more now appointive.

Never was the true inwardness of the opposition to the short ballot and the real farce of the “elective” system for minor administrative officers shown to better advantage than in the contest which ensued over the proposition of the convention committee to curtail materially the number of officers chosen by popular vote. When the committee suggested that the comptroller should be appointed, the organization leaders of both parties cried out that “free” institutions were in danger from executive usurpation and urged that an independent auditor was indispensable to safeguard the public interests. When the committee yielded to the opposition, and accepted the principle of election but took from the comptroller all but auditing functions, it discovered that the “champions of the people” did not care so much about popular election as about patronage. As is well known to all students of New York government, it has long been the practice of the legislature to place tax-collecting and other functions not strictly auditing in character in the comptroller’s office in order to put at his disposal a number of fat plums for “the boys.” It was not surprising, therefore, to see Comptroller Travis running about the state stirring up opposition to the short ballot which threatened to cut down his patronage. It was not surprising, either, to see him throw off all disguise and accept a curious compromise advanced by the committee providing for an elective comptroller with abundant patronage at his control and for a genuine auditor, without patronage, to be appointed by the governor. Thus American governments are fearfully and wonderfully made.

According to the terms of the compromise, therefore, the governor, lieutenant-governor, comptroller, and attorney-general are to be elected by popular vote. The other functions of state government are to be consolidated in fifteen departments, but no uniform system of appointment is provided. The commissioner of education is to be chosen, as before, by the regents of the state university who are selected by the legislature. Some of the state commissioners are to be appointed by the governor with the consent of the senate and the heads of other departments are to be chosen by the governor alone. Some commissioners are to be subject to removal by the governor upon notice and hearing, others at his discretion.

The other provisions of state-wide interest are the requirement of serial in place of sinking fund bonds, the increase of the salary of the governor to \$20,000 and of the legislators from \$1,500 to \$2,500, permis-

sion for absentee registration for voters, publication of a daily record of legislative proceedings, and a revision of the judiciary article with a view to eliminating many of the law's delays.

III

The provisions of the new constitution which are of most interest to the readers of this journal are, of course, the clauses dealing with home rule for cities and counties. Here, too, as in other matters, the work of the convention was supplemented and in a measure guided by the activities of outside organizations. As was pointed out above, the City Club had for a long time devoted attention to the subject and its legislative committee had drafted several proposals looking in the direction of enlarged municipal autonomy, including the constitutional amendment introduced in the legislature previous to the calling of the convention. The Municipal Government Association had likewise contributed powerfully to the growth of the movement by independent action and by co-operation with other agencies. The Mayors' Conference had also taken the matter up and formulated its program for the consideration of the convention. A number of municipal officers, notably Mayor Mitchel of New York, took a personal interest in the advancement of the cause. The convention, therefore, had no lack of advice, and naturally enough there was not a little confusion of opinion as to the nature, limits, and implications of home rule.² All of this became painfully apparent as the work of the convention proceeded.

It is impossible to summarize here all of the measures providing for municipal autonomy, which have been prepared in New York during the last few months and introduced in the convention, or to follow all of the controversies which raged in the convention and outside during the summer. It is sufficient to say that on August 5, the committee on cities, of which Mr. Seth Low was chairman, reported to the convention a scheme for home rule that was adopted (with some modifications) on September 1.

Following the accepted division of the subject, the municipal home rule measure falls into two main parts: provision for local charter drafting and provision for enlarged local powers, including of course new limitations on the legislature.

With reference to the first matter, the amendment stipulates that at the general election of 1917, and every eighth year thereafter (unless the city charter on its first revision shall provide otherwise), every city shall submit to the electors, either at a general or special election, the question "shall there be a commission to revise the charter of the city?"

"In case," continues the amendment, "the question shall be answered in the affirmative," the city (except New York) shall choose seven com-

² See Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science (New York), vol. v, number 2, January, 1915.

missioners to revise its charter; that is, presumably, if a majority of those voting on the measure approve revision, although this important matter is left indeterminate in the amendment. For New York City the number of commissioners is increased to sixteen, nine of whom shall be chosen at large, two by the voters in each of the boroughs of Manhattan and Brooklyn, and one by the voters in each of the three remaining boroughs. Whether the commissioners in the other cities of the state are to be elected on a general or district ticket is left apparently to the discretion of the legislature, with the presumption probably in favor of the former.

The charter drafted by the commission on revision must be submitted to the voters at the next ensuing general election, or at a special election to be called for that purpose. If a majority of the voters voting thereon approve the revised charter, it must be submitted to the legislature during the first week of its session in January of the year following popular ratification. If the revised charter is not disapproved by a joint resolution of the legislature prior to July first of that year, it shall go into effect. The further elaboration of the charter-drafting process is left to the legislature.

With reference to the second broad division of the amendment, namely, the enlargement of local autonomy, it is provided that "every city shall have exclusive power to manage, regulate, and control its property, affairs and municipal government, subject to the provisions of this constitution and subject further to the provisions of the general laws of the state, of laws applying to all the cities of the state without classification or distinction, and of laws applying to a county not wholly included within a city establishing or affecting the relation between such a county and a city therein." After this generality, which will prove especially inviting to the exercise of judicial wit, the amendment proceeds to enumerate among others the powers thus actually granted to the municipality. These include the powers:

1. To organize and manage all departments, bureaus and other divisions of its municipal government.
2. To regulate the powers, duties, qualifications, mode of selection, number, terms of office, compensation, and method of removal of all city officers and employes.
3. To regulate the compensation of all officers not chosen by the voters.
4. To revise or enact amendments to its charter in relation to its property, affairs, or municipal government, and to enact amendments to any local or special law in relation thereto—in accordance with the provisions of the amendment.

In addition to conferring charter-making power upon a special commission, the measure also provides that the legislative body of the city may enact charter amendments subject to the approval of the mayor and of the board of estimate and apportionment (if such there be), with

the proviso that any such amendment which changes the "framework" of the government of the city, or modifies restrictions as to issuing bonds or contracting debts, shall be submitted to the legislature for rejection if it so desires.

While thus enlarging the powers of the city, the amendment further provides that the legislature may delegate to municipalities for exercise within their respective local jurisdictions such of its legislative powers in matters of state concern as it may from time to time deem expedient.

After providing for local charter drafting and presumably for the enlargement of local autonomy, the amendment further safeguards cities by placing restrictions upon the legislature. It flatly forbids the legislature to pass any law relating to the property, affairs, or local government of any city, excepting such as is applicable to all the cities of the state, without distinction or classification. It then reincorporates the old provision dividing the cities of the state into three classes for action on special legislation and narrowly defines a "special" city law as a "law affecting cities in relation to boundaries, water supply, sewerage and public improvements, involving the use of territory outside of the boundaries of cities, and in relation to the government of cities in matters of state concern and applying to less than all of the cities of the state without classification or distinction." Any special city law, in accordance with the provisions of the old constitution, which is continued in the new, must be transmitted to the cities affected and be approved in cities of the first class by the mayor and in other cities by the mayor and municipal legislature before going into effect.

A very vigorous minority report criticising the amendment as proposed by the committee on cities was submitted to the convention on August 5 by Mr. Foley and Mr. Franchot. The dissenters call attention to the fact that under the system proposed it will take approximately three years between the submission of the question of charter revision and the final enactment of the charter into law. They hold that the requirement of approval by the legislature makes possible the destruction of charter reform and they urge that approval by the voters of the city should be final. They claim that the plan is therefore both wasteful and impracticable and will lead to endless confusion of authorities and jurisdictions. They further contend that the grant of power is so uncertain that it may be readily reduced to a few minor matters by judicial interpretation; they say that the language of the grant "will breed hopeless doubt, uncertainty and confusion," and they emphatically declare that the measure "does not confer genuine home rule, does not eliminate mandatory legislation affecting cities, narrows instead of widens the present sphere of local control by municipalities."³

³ In addition to the provisions for home rule, the city of New York receives at the hands of the convention a reorganization and consolidation of the local courts of mediate

The agitation carried on by the Short Ballot Association, the City Club and other associations in favor of larger autonomy for counties also bore fruit in an amendment providing that the legislature may by general laws establish different forms of government for counties not wholly included in a city—with the proviso that any such form of government shall become effective in any county only when approved by the electors thereof in such manner as the legislature may prescribe. While thus opening the way for experimentation in county government and giving the counties of the state a certain degree of choice in determining their form of government, the amendment further provides that no special or local law relating to a county or counties shall be enacted except upon request, by resolution, of the governing body of the county or counties to be affected.

It would be a work of supererogation to discuss the merits of this constitution. Its provisions speak for themselves. The advocates of the short ballot and administrative re-organization have received a large measure of consolation—more in fact than they had reason to expect. The champions of scientific budget-making have achieved a substantial gain in the governor's initiation of the administrative budget—whether it becomes a matter of form will depend upon the character of the new governors. In breaking down the rigid separation of the governor and his cabinet from the legislature and admitting them to the floor of the houses, a system of interpellation may be established which will contribute powerfully to efficient and responsible government and will open up undreamt-of possibilities in politics. In prophecies unfulfilled the convention rendered notable services. There is plenty to be said in criticism, but another time would be more appropriate, although one cannot forbear mentioning the continuation of the notorious gerrymander against New York City. The issue is now with the voters.

jurisdiction. There will be two divisions of such courts: the city court with city-wide jurisdiction over civil matters and the court of general sessions with criminal jurisdiction in New York City and county. The county courts of the four other counties will be abolished and their jurisdiction divided between the two new courts. This provision will materially simplify the judicial system of the metropolis and at the same time allow for the specialization in courts which is in harmony with the best opinion as to the proper development of municipal tribunals.

MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS IN NASHVILLE, 1915

BY ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT
Vanderbilt University

THE present commission form of government in the city of Nashville is not quite two years old. The charter (chapter 22 of the acts of 1913) became law without the approval of Hon. B. W. Hooper, who was at that time governor. He was understood to feel that the franchises of the city were so insufficiently guarded that he was justified in withholding his approval, but he did not veto the bill. Of hostile criticism of the charter, which had been drawn under the auspices of the board of trade and had been submitted to able attorneys, there was very little open expression. It was pointed out in opposition, however, that under the old charter the mayor, Hilary E. Howse, having served the full permitted terms, was not re-eligible, while the new charter specifically made it possible for him to stand again. The charter provided for five commissioners, as follows: (1) of police, public affairs, and health (who also serves as mayor); (2) of finance, lights, and market house; (3) of streets, sewers, and sidewalks; (4) of fire, sprinkling, and building inspection; and (5) of water-works, street-cleaning, and work-house. It will be observed at once that there was a considerable specification of duties to be performed by particular commissioners, with a lessening, perhaps, of the responsibility of the commission as a whole. Each commissioner was to serve a term of four years, but special provision was made for certain members of the board of public works under the former charter, who were continued to 1915 and 1917, respectively. In 1913, Mr. Howse was elected mayor and two other commissioners were chosen, one of these for four years and one for two. In October, 1915, comes in due course the election of two commissioners, who will serve for four years. These provisions of the charter will make it sufficiently clear that there has been considerable identity of personnel between the present administration and that which existed under the old charter.

In the charter of 1913 was included a provision for the recall of the mayor or of any commissioner upon petition of qualified voters to a number equal to at least 25 per cent "of the entire vote for all candidates for the office of mayor cast at the last preceding city election." To this provision it will be necessary to recur later. It was also enacted "that upon any vacancy occurring in the board of commissioners by death, resignation, or otherwise, except in the case of a commissioner who is recalled by the voters, as hereinafter provided, the remaining four commissioners shall have the power by a majority vote to elect a commissioner to fill such vacancy who shall hold office for the unexpired term."

Early in the present year, as a part of the movement for the enforcement of the laws establishing state-wide prohibition, there was passed by the assembly what is known as the "ouster law," by which ten free-holders may institute suit for the removal of a delinquent public official. This act was signed by Governor Rye, notwithstanding his objection to the "ten free-holders" clause. How this act, intended for use against city officials who had failed in their duty as to enforcing the prohibition laws, has been called into service in the present situation in Nashville will appear more fully on page 649.

Somewhat over a year ago it became known that the city's finances were not in the best condition, that there was a considerable deficit, and that there would be need for a large bond issue to cover this. The origin of this deficit was, in large part, as follows. In 1899 the former charter of 1883 was amended, and among other changes a stringent provision was added that the budget of a given year should not exceed the aggregate revenue (exclusive of the sale of bonds) for the preceding year. In 1907, however, the city administration procured the passage of an act authorizing the city to appropriate in excess of the income of the preceding year as much as \$75,000. When this had been done once, the temptation to repeat it was not resisted, and similar acts were obtained authorizing an excess in 1909 of \$250,000; in 1911 of \$200,000 for that year and the same for 1912; and in 1913 the same sum for that year and for 1914. By 1915, therefore, the accumulation of these permitted excesses was more than \$1,000,000, and the necessity of funding was pressing.

The city commission enlisted the advice of a committee of business men. It was suggested that the city's finances should undergo an expert audit by some outside accountant, and that there should be coupled with this an efficiency survey similar to those adopted by certain other cities. This suggestion, at first agreed to, was later declined by a majority of the commission, and it was alleged that, after securing the promise of the citizen's committee to use its influence to obtain from the assembly then in session permission to issue \$978,000 in bonds, the commission, after the bonds had been granted and sold, withdrew its consent to the audit. The commission maintained that a special act was necessary to give it power to appropriate money for the purpose of the audit. Such an act was passed later. In addition to these bonds was an issue of \$450,000 for street improvements and \$625,000 for school purposes. In both of these cases it was charged that the authorization of these issues without popular vote constituted a violation of the intention of the charter which specifically required such a vote.

Over the question of audit there arose a considerable dispute between the commission and the Commercial club, a body representative of the most important business interests of the city, which offered to provide for the expense of an audit and efficiency survey. The commission proposed

to advertise for bids for an accounting in accordance with its own plans, but when the club published the correspondence over this matter, the commission, obviously feeling that public sentiment was against it, severing relations with the citizens' committee and the club, invited a committee composed of the six national bank presidents of Nashville to undertake the arrangements for an audit. One of the newspapers of the city, understood to be friendly to the administration, announced that the service of this committee was to be "for this train and trip only." The bankers' committee arranged for the audit, and in May the commission opened and referred to this committee 29 bids which had been received. June 4, the firm of James Cameron of New York was recommended by the bankers' committee, and, notwithstanding some objection on the part of the state board of accountants, the contract with this firm was adopted by the board of commissioners.

On the morning of June 12, it was announced by the mayor that important books were missing from the revenue office. The commission met and offered a reward for the arrest and conviction of the person guilty of abstracting the books, and the mayor suspended the city comptroller pending the investigation. This official, R. Miles Burns, in whose custody the books were, was a subordinate of Lyle Andrews, commissioner of finance, lights and market house. Burns secured counsel and thus was brought into the case Harry S. Stokes of the Nashville bar, who, with his associates, Messrs. W. C. Cherry and J. G. Stephenson, has figured most prominently in the subsequent proceedings. The first step was to contest the right of the commission to suspend Burns without an investigation, and a temporary injunction was secured. On the other side it was alleged that Burns knew, as early as April, that the books were missing. In his request for an injunction, Burns filed a supplemental bill involving in financial irregularities the commissioner of finance, Andrews. On June 18, both Andrews and Burns were arrested on the warrant of the mayor and a warrant was issued for one "Doc" West, assistant treasurer, who, however, disappeared for over two months and has only recently returned to stand trial.

On June 25, the city treasurer, Myers, was arrested on the charge of breach of trust. The grand jury found true bills against Andrews, Burns, and West. On June 28, the commissioners took the radical step of removing one of their own number; Andrews, commissioner of finance, lights, and market house. No specific grant of this power appears in the charter, but it was argued by the counsel for the city to exist inherently in that instrument. The four remaining commissioners then proceeded under the charter to elect to the vacant office, Park Marshall, a prominent Nashville attorney. On July 19, Burns, the comptroller, resigned his office.

We have thus far related the original development of the municipal

case. But soon the matter was rendered much more complex. On June 25, Mr. Stokes, counsel for Burns, filed a bill asking for a partial receivership for the city of Nashville. This bill was several times amended, the most important addition for our purposes resulting from the co-operation with Burns of a number of taxpayers seeking to place the city in the hands of a receiver. The grounds upon which this petition, which came before the chancery court, was based consisted in allegations of illegal conduct of the financial affairs of the city, especially in the illegal or void contracts with paving companies which were made parties to the suit. After a lengthy argument upon a motion to dismiss the bill, the chancellor took cognizance of the case and later appointed a special commissioner to take proof. Somewhat later the chancellor appointed a receiver. He also refused a transfer of the cases of the paving companies to the federal court. His action as to the receivership, however, was nullified on July 28 by Judge Wilson of the court of civil appeals, who issued a supersedeas.

Meanwhile, on July 20, proceedings under the ouster law made their appearance. A bill was filed by certain citizens under this act seeking to remove Mayor Howse and three other commissioners, one of whom was Commissioner Andrews, already dismissed by the commission itself. The same day one of these commissioners, J. M. Wilkerson, of the department of streets, sewers, and sidewalks, resigned, and the commission elected as his successor G. W. Stainback, formerly a member of the board of public works under the old charter. On July 27, Judge Matthews of the circuit court granted the ouster petition to the extent of a temporary suspension, pending final hearing, and removed from office the mayor and Commissioners Elliot, of the department of water-works, etc., and Andrews, commissioner of finance, etc., and City Treasurer Charles Myers. This left as members of the commission, Alexander, Marshall, and Stainback, of whom only Alexander, of the department of fire, etc., was one of the original commissioners. The commission then attempted to elect two new members to fill the vacant seats; but this effort was met by an injunction from the circuit court against the participation of Commissioner Alexander in such an action. One of the judges of the court of civil appeals, however, issued a supersedeas and set aside the injunction on the grounds of insufficient notice, thus permitting Commissioner Alexander to continue in office. This was on July 30. Strenuous efforts were then made by the Commercial club and other business organizations to have the commission proceed with the election of a mayor and another commissioner, but these efforts were marked by a great lack of harmony. The recommendations made by the club and the bodies acting with it were opposed by another organization, the Business men's association, and a distinct political aspect was given to this phase of the matter. A mass-meeting held to further the choice of the club's nominees afforded opportunity for the appearance of U. S. Senator Luke Lea, who upheld

the nominees of the Business men's association, and for Harry S. Stokes, counsel for Burns and the taxpayers, who, pleading the necessity of the receivership, urged that no election be made at the time. A second mass-meeting in the interest of the receivership was largely attended, and the proposition of Mr. Stokes awoke great popular enthusiasm, but met with almost unanimous opposition from the business interests of the city.

Meanwhile, the commission proceeded with the effort to fill the vacancies, and on the 579th ballot Hon. Robert Ewing, a nominee of the Commercial club, was elected mayor, and Hon. J. O. Tankard, a member of the last assembly and a nominee of the Business men's association, was elected commissioner of water-works, etc. Somewhat later, after the supreme court decisions, which will be discussed below, ouster proceedings were taken up against Alexander, but the commissioner submitted his resignation. The vacancy thus far has not been filled, and it is understood will not be filled until the regular election in the autumn.

With matter thus approaching a situation fraught with great danger, the supreme court of Tennessee came to the rescue, and on August 6, after hearing arguments, handed down three decisions. First, the supersedeas of the ouster proceedings against Alexander was declared to be beyond the power of the court of civil appeals under the ouster statute and the statute creating the court of civil appeals. The supreme court, asserting direct appellate jurisdiction, decided that the ouster proceedings against Alexander were, however, insufficient, and the injunction against him was dissolved. Second, in regard to the ouster of Mayor Howse and Commissioner Elliot the proceedings were held to have been sufficient for a suspension. Third, the application of the attorneys arguing for the receivership to have this matter taken up directly by the supreme court on certiorari, under the statutes, was denied, and the case was left with the court of civil appeals. This was equivalent, temporarily at least, to a denial of a receivership.

Parallel with much of what has been narrated has been another movement under the sections of the charter providing for the use of the "recall." A recall petition was framed under the advice and on the initiative of a group of younger men in the city, especially Laurent Brown, an attorney, and was submitted to the commissioners of election of Davidson county, who found the petition to be in regular form. The term of two of the commissioners of election having expired, however, the new appointees, constituting the majority, adopted a policy unfavorable to the recall petition. When confronted with mandamus proceedings, the commissioners argued the uncertainty of the status of the recall petition. Some of the officials named therein had resigned and others had been elected by the commission itself. Did the recall apply only to those originally named, or did the resignations of some of those named in the petition invalidate that instrument in regard to all? Are the new

commissioners subject to recall under the old petition? These questions are still in litigation. A phenomenon of some interest to students of government, however, is the general attitude of unfriendliness towards the recall idea. It was alleged in the newspapers that the members of the committee of public safety of the Commercial club had pledged themselves not to support the recall movement, and the resignation of one member who refused such a pledge was accepted. Possibly one explanation of this attitude was a fear that popular election at the present time would lead to the choice of members not as capable as those who would be chosen by the commission itself on the recommendation of the business organizations.

The work of auditing, meanwhile, has been going on, but it is understood will not be completed for several weeks, perhaps months. The testimony brought out in the Burns case, however, has given evidence of much grafting in the city administration and of a totally insufficient system of accounting, especially in regard to deposits in the national banks. Witnesses have testified to the violation of the provisions of the charter which prohibit city officials or their relatives from profiting from contracts, to great waste in paving contracts, to the "loading" of the electric light plant, and to the use of the trust funds of the city for current expenses. The investigation, supported by a committee of taxpayers, is still under way, and the effort is being made to recover from the accused officials some of the money alleged to have been corruptly expended. Thus far no losses have been discovered sufficient seriously to affect the city's credit, but a regime of rigid retrenchment has been initiated. The legal phases of the case are still very complicated. The status of the suspended commissioners, the criminal proceedings against Burns, Andrews, Myers, and West; the legality of the actions of the present commissioners—all these remain to be decided. The political interest is continued by the approaching election of two commissioners and by the litigation with regard to the recall. Certainly public sentiment has been stirred to its depths, and, whatever the darker features of the case may prove to be, there is room to hope for an improvement in public morals for the immediate future.

One particularly unfortunate result of the whole affair is the tendency which it has had to cast opprobrium upon the commission form of government, which by an easy but fallacious logic is held accountable by many for the evils which have developed during the last few years. To this it may be replied that the very quickness with which the municipal corruption has been brought to light through the activity of Messrs. Stokes, Cherry, and Stephenson shows that the concentration of power in the hands of a commission has made it easy to fix the responsibility. It need hardly be added that the ouster law is not now popular with certain politicians in Tennessee.

NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Charter Revisions.¹—The proposed Oakland charter drafted by the tax association of Alameda county is most interesting. The association has long been interested in the city manager plan, having gone so far as two years ago to suggest the adaptation of the idea to the county of Alameda. Commission government in Oakland under the present charter has not been all that its advocates hoped for. In fact, it has exhibited some of the very faults which the theoretical students of municipal charters have frequently pointed out. Particularly, the commission plan has not secured, by the process of popular election, men specially equipped to perform administrative functions. Then, too, the commission, because of the mingling of legislative and departmental interests in that body, has been largely an assembly for the emphasizing of differences, rather than for cultivating the interests of the city.

The proposed plan calls for a council of six members and a mayor, all unsalaried, to be a legislative body. The mayor would exercise no functions different from other members of the council except to appoint the members of a number of advisory boards and to act as a presiding officer and the ceremonial head of the city. The city manager, under the direction of the council, would do the rest. The qualifications set down for this officer and the procedure to be followed in his selection are unique. The provision of the proposed charter on this point are as follows:

The city manager must be a person of known administrative ability, with experience in responsible and important executive capacity; he shall be a person who has occupied positions of responsibility in

directing large operations such as would indicate his ability to successfully discharge the duties attached to the office of city manager. He need not be a citizen of Oakland, or of California at the time of his appointment. Before such appointment is made, notice shall be inserted by advertising in at least two technical journals of national circulation and in ten newspapers of which four shall be published east of the Mississippi river; such notice shall be published once a week for four consecutive weeks and no appointment shall be made until thirty days from and after the date of the last publication.

One feature in the charter of very doubtful wisdom is that which requires the manager to prepare the budget, but makes it impossible for the council to raise any amounts therein, except by unanimous vote. This provision was evidently inserted with the thought that the manager would be analogous to an elected mayor. Such, however, is not the theory of the city manager plan, in which ultimate responsibility rests entirely with the council. The budget is the program of the city for a given year, and while it is probable that the provision of the proposed charter would not prove a serious obstacle in most cases, it is not unlikely that occasions might arise when the council would care to overrule the city manager by a majority vote on a question of public policy involving the increase of a budget item.

The charter stiffens up the civil service provisions and evidently puts in the competitive class all city officers and employees except the city manager, the secretary and the city attorney and his assistants. The appointing officer must appoint the person whose name stands highest on the eligible list.

The franchise provisions may be

¹ From H. S. Gilbertson.

summed up as follows: (a) indeterminate franchises, (b) surrender of existing franchises and their replacement by indeterminate franchises, (c) proper valuation of the transportation lines in the event that the city desires to acquire them.

Home Rule in Florida. A considerable measure of home rule has been granted to the municipalities of Florida by an act passed at the last session of the legislature. It was fathered by Senator Ion L. Farris and known popularly as the "municipal freedom bill." This act does not make it possible for any city or town to enlarge its corporate powers beyond the limitations prescribed by law, but each city is given practically complete powers over the organization of the city government, including the power to alter the numbers, powers, duties, compensation, terms of office and the time and manner of election or appointment of any or all officers and boards, whether created by or recognized in state legislation or ordinances. The charter may also abolish any such officers or boards.

For the purpose of securing charter revision, the act authorizes the governing body of the city or town by resolution to provide for the election of a charter commission, varying according to the size of the city or town, from five to fifteen members. In case the council fails to act, the voters themselves may proceed to file a petition consisting of not less than twenty per cent of the qualified voters upon the verification of which petition the council must call the necessary election.

The charter proposed by this elected board must be submitted to the voters of the city or town at a general or special election.

Ohio's Optional Law Adopted. Westerville is apparently the first city in Ohio to take advantage of the optional city government law passed two years ago. The city manager plan was selected on July 31. A curious situation has arisen in that city by this action in that it is left without a court. When the bill was originally introduced provisions were made for municipal courts, but at the instance of one of the

representatives from Cincinnati these were stricken out. The mayor of the city will apparently have to take his chances by sitting as judge and carrying out the provisions of the general code.

New City Charters. Commission government has recently been adopted in Springfield, Mo., San Jose, Cal., and Elizabeth City, N. C. Springfield voted to operate under the general law, the proposition having been carried by the slim majority of five. The other two cities will have the city manager plan under special charters.

The Massachusetts Optional Charter Bill recommended by the Doyle committee was approved by the governor on May 29, 1915. It gives cities the choice of four plans: (a) mayor and a city council of nine members elected at large; (b) mayor and a city council elected by wards; (c) mayor and four commissioners; (d) city manager and four councilors.

The charter commission of *Virginia, Minn.*, has been working for several months. It is composed of independent, public-spirited men representing all viewpoints of modern municipal progressive ideas. Virginia is the fifth largest city in Minnesota, with a population of over 15,000, and is the metropolis of the great Mesaba iron ore district in which the U. S. Steel Corporation and many large independent mining companies operate, but the politics of which they do not seek to dominate.

The commission has been considering the Duluth charter plan, the city manager plan, and a new plan that embodies a combination of the two. The Duluth charter was drawn as a municipal "constitution," with the idea that a body of ordinances, similar to state statutes, should supplement it, thus making amendments as to detail of administration easy of adoption. A sub-committee of the Virginia commission has announced that it has practically decided on a commission of five men, only three of whom shall receive more than nominal salaries, and those three shall perform the administrative functions of municipal government. The other two shall participate in all

legislative functions, the idea being that they will constitute a check on the expenditure of public funds, which the enthusiasm of the administrative members to "make a showing" in their several departments naturally induces. This is supposed to be a new departure, the purpose being to keep the legislative membership of the commission large enough to be representative, and the administrative salaried membership small enough to secure efficiency and economy in the business management of the city.

The charter will abolish the ward system, will embody the initiative, referendum and recall in workable form, and will probably provide for the preferential system of voting which has been so successful in Duluth. A municipal monthly bulletin may also be provided for, so the city officials may explain their purposes and defend their official actions to the people, with a fullness that newspapers usually do not have space to publish, and in self-defense if the local press should sometime determine to "get" the commission. The Virginia charter commission believes that the size of the city to be governed should be the primary factor to consider in determining which of the modern theories or forms of commission charters should be adopted.

Virginia owns, and has operated very successfully, its own water, gas and electric light plant.

Municipal Home Rule.¹—The *Connecticut* legislature passed a bill providing that any town whose government is conducted under the provisions of a special act, and any borough or city, shall have authority to enact a charter for its government or to amend its present charter under the conditions prescribed in the act. The bill was advocated by the Connecticut chamber of commerce.

A proposed home rule amendment to the *New Jersey* constitution failed of passage. Several bills designed to give local *Pennsylvania* communities larger control over public utilities, in the shape of amendments to the public utility law

of 1913 were defeated. *Wilmington, Delaware*, has obtained from the legislature home rule in the matter of issuing bonds for improvements purposes. Without consulting that body, it may issue bonds up to ten per cent of the total of the city assessment.

*Ohio.*² Two important cases involving the provisions of *Cleveland's* home rule charter have been decided by the Ohio supreme court, one in June and one in July. The first had to do with the power of the city to determine the organization of its sinking fund commissions. The home rule amendment, after providing that municipalities should have authority to exercise all powers of local self-government, also provided that "The general assembly shall have authority to limit the power of municipalities to levy taxes and incur debts for local purposes." The assumption of those who framed the constitutional amendment was, and the contention before the supreme court has been, that the power granted to cities to exercise all powers of local self-government would have conferred upon them the power to control their taxation and indebtedness, except for the specific reservation of these powers to the general assembly.

It was assumed that this reservation of power to the legislature should be strictly construed since it was by way of restriction on the general grant of power to cities. In other words, that *Cleveland* having adopted a charter was free to organize its machinery for the management of its public debt, and was restricted only in that it must keep within the limitations upon taxation and indebtedness provided by general law.

The general municipal code of *Ohio* provides a sinking fund commission of four, appointed by the mayor. The *Cleveland* charter, section 121, provides "The sinking fund commission shall consist of the mayor, the director of finance, and the president of the council." This was the provision attacked. The supreme court upheld the contention of the city, thus committing the court a second time

¹ Prepared by Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

² From Prof. Augustus Raymond Hatton.

to a broad and liberal interpretation of the home rule amendment.

The second case had to do with the matter of frontage consents in the construction or extension of street railways.

The Ohio law provides that, before a street railway may be constructed or extended along any street, the consent of the owners of a majority of the foot frontage of property thereon shall be secured.

Since the home rule amendment grants to municipalities all powers of local self-government, and also "authority to acquire, construct, own, lease, and operate any public utility . . . and to contract with others for any . . . product or service of such utility," the question was raised whether the city in framing its charter can abrogate the state law requiring frontage consents.

This question has been raised through the desire of the city to extend the street railway along that portion of Euclid avenue which lies between East 22d street and East 40th street, commonly known as "millionaires' row."

In framing the Cleveland charter it was provided in Section 187 that "No consent of the owners of property abutting on any highway or public ground shall be required for the construction, extension, maintenance, or operation of any public utility by original grant or renewal, unless such public utility is of such a character that its contraction or operation is an additional burden upon the rights of the property owners in such highways or public grounds." The contention of the city is that the grant of powers of local self-government together with the specific power to own and operate public utilities and contract with others for products or services of such utilities, gives the city complete control of its streets except as to the extent that the placing of any public utility fixtures in a street may place an additional burden upon the rights of the property owners therein. The supreme court affirmed the home rule charter and Cleveland's right to proceed thereunder.

Illinois. The 1915 session adjourned without passing any home rule bill, although several were up for consideration.

One provided for council control and represented the wishes of the Chicago council and the original proponents of the measure; the other provided for a city commission to be appointed by the mayor of the city of Chicago and represented partly the wishes of the new administration and partly the efforts of the utilities companies to cloud the situation.

The *Iowa* senate defeated, by one vote, the Arney bill for home rule for cities and towns. The bill was one which was intended to give to cities and towns greater freedom in the handling of their business affairs and had the endorsement of the league of Iowa municipalities. The house refused to go to the length of permitting municipalities to license garages and livery stables. (*See A. Y. B., 1914, p. 211.*) This bill was promoted by the league of Iowa municipalities.



Illinois City Elections Law.¹—The city elections law is a special act of the legislature passed for the benefit of the larger cities of the state. It is effective only on a majority vote of the people of a municipality. Once adopted, it is effective as pertains to all elections, and there is no provision for the city ever getting rid of it. Its object is a prevention of fraud at an election and a protection of the sanctity of the ballot. In this its practical workings seem to be successful. The law is administered by three commissioners named by the county court, and their word is final in all election matters except on appeal to the county judge, the court of last resort, and except in certain contests. In Peoria the commissioners are two republicans and one democrat. They name the judges and clerks, select the polling places, prepare the ballots, in fact all the details. Returns are made to them. They canvas and certify the result to the county court, who issues the certificates of election to county and municipal positions.

The board has the right to summon anyone to act as judge or clerk and he must serve unless excused—the same as a juror. Judges and clerks are examined

¹From Henry M. Pindell, Peoria, Ill.

as to their qualifications and competency, instead of being certified by ward heelers. Under the new law there has been a marked improvement in the personnel of judges and clerks with a corresponding increase in the rapidity with which returns are received. The character of the polling places, too, has improved immensely. Saloons are now closed during the hours of election, and there is no disorder of any character. The election commissioners have charge of the registration of the voters, and no elector can vote unless registered. Several days before election, lists are printed for each precinct giving the name of every voter by streets and numbers. Enough copies must be printed to provide every voter with one if he wishes. In this way the lists are carefully scrutinized and the name of any persons illegally registered can be removed. Under this act the burden of proof is all placed on the voter if his right to register or vote is questioned. It is the only place where a man is presumed to be guilty until he proves his innocence. Voters denied registration can appeal to the county judge.

The only objection to the law is that of expense, for it costs more to conduct an election under its provisions than by the old system. However, an election held under the city election law is far more satisfying to the people, who have the utmost confidence in it. Aside from some expenses of the commission considered needless, the law has given general satisfaction in its practical workings, and none of the results in the two elections held under it have been questioned by any one.

The county pays the salaries of the commissioners and chief clerk and assistant, together with all expenses of purely county elections. The city pays the judges and clerks at municipal elections. The city must also furnish the commission with an office, which must be kept open at all times. It must also pay all the office expenses.

There are three judges and two clerks for each precinct at five dollars per

day. The day following the registration, the clerks must visit the home of every voter registered and see if he really lives there. If he cannot be found, a suspect notice is left and he must appear before the registry board and show his right to register.

A number of Peorians who had been voting for years, were unable to vote at the last city election owing to the fact they had never been naturalized. One of them was a man holding office as a park commissioner. His office automatically became vacant and he applied for his naturalization papers immediately, after having voted here for thirty-five years.

Proportional Representation.¹—On August 10, the voters of Ashtabula, Ohio, adopted an amendment to their new city manager plan charter providing proportional representation for the election of the council of seven. This is the first instance of the adoption, for the election of any public body in the United States or Canada, of what deserves to be called proportional representation.

The system of election covered by the amendment is the Hare, applied as follows: Candidates are nominated by petition; their names are printed on the ballots in a single list, without party names or emblems. The voter indicates his first choice by the figure 1, his second by the figure 2, etc., expressing thus as many or as few choices as he pleases. The count of first choices is made up at the precincts. The ballots are sent to the electoral authorities of the city, under whose direction, in the presence of representatives of the candidates, newspaper men, and others, the count is finished. The principle at the bottom of the rules of counting is that the voters are to be divided, in accordance with their will as set forth on their ballots, into seven groups, each comprising a seventh of the voters—as nearly as possible—and each unanimous in the desire to send into the council a particular candidate. In other words the system provides,

¹ From Clarence G. Hoag.

in place of the seven territorial constituencies which would elect the councilmen under the ward system, seven unanimous constituencies.

This system of proportional representation has been in successful operation for parliamentary elections in Tasmania since 1907, for the election of the South African senate and for municipal elections in the Transvaal since 1909; and it is prescribed by the home rule act for the senate and part of the house of Ireland. A system quite the same essentially, though usually called by a different name, has been used for the election of the Danish senate since 1857, and has been extended this year, in connection with the adoption of the new constitution, to the election of the electors who choose the senators.

Under such a system the majority of the voters of the city will secure a majority of the seats in the council, and yet each considerable minority group will have in the council a representative to voice its views and protect its interests. Having all opinions and interests thus represented in the deliberative body in accordance with their voting strength is considered by proportionalists an essential feature of a system of government that deserves to be called representative. This view is vigorously sustained by a foreign authority now sojourning amongst us, Monsieur L. Dupriez, professor of comparative constitutional law in the University of Louvain. It will be recalled that the proportional system is used in Belgium for parliamentary and certain other elections. In reference to American city government, Professor Dupriez writes:

As I said in my letter of last March to Mr. Foulke, the first and indispensable condition of the good organization of the government of a city is "to insure before all things a constant and internal control in municipal commissions by bringing into them men of diverse origin and tendencies." I believe that a commission or municipal council elected exclusively on the principle of plurality or majority cannot constitute a good city government. Such a commission or council will understand, protect, and favor only the interests, desires, and points of view of the group

that elected it. It will neglect or even, perhaps, oppose the interests, desires, and aspirations of the beaten minorities. Besides, in such an assembly of associated friends the absence of all control will permit every abuse to develop. These dangers and disadvantages will be found not only if the municipal elections are carried out and dominated by the national parties, but also if they are fought out between groups constituted on lines purely municipal.

But if municipal commissions and councils are composed of men nominated by diverse groups, which represent diverse ideas and points of view and which defend interests that are different or even opposed, each of the members will exercise an effective and vigilant control over the others. In the discussions of the council or commission the needs and aspirations of all the groups of citizens will be set forth and sustained, and thus a compromise among the interests and desires will often be worked out. The city will be administered no longer for the exclusive benefit of a single group, but for the good of all the inhabitants.

The leader of the proportionalist forces in Ashtabula was W. E. Boynton, vice-president of the recent charter commission and formerly president of the city council. A passage from the letter of Lent D. Upson, who until recently was director of the Dayton Bureau of municipal research, will be of interest:

I am only sorry that my own city of Dayton should not have been chosen to make the experiment. At the time our charter was passed, I think all of us were convinced that the representation of interests should be included, but we believed that the presentation of two issues might lose them both. The experience of a year and a half has now demonstrated the need of a more satisfactory method of connecting public opinion with the government itself. Our administration is honest, highly efficient, and has exceeded my most enthusiastic expectation so far as results are concerned. I feel, however, that its work would be strengthened if every element had a voice in the policy-making body, and were compelled to go on record regarding the very matters which they are now criticizing.

✱

Publicity of Primary Results.—Under a 1915 act, at all primary elections in

Pennsylvania, in each election district, the vote as soon as counted must be publicly and fully declared from the window to the citizens present; and a brief statement, showing the votes received by each candidate, shall be made and signed by the election officers as soon as the vote is counted, and must be immediately posted up on the door of the election house or polling place, for the information of the public.

*

Woman's Suffrage in Ontario, Canada.

—Unusual interest was given recent municipal elections by the submission of the question of the extension of the municipal franchise to married women with proper qualifications. The suffrage organizations, following the success attending the submission of a similar plebiscite in Toronto, determined to strengthen their campaign by obtaining a show of opinion wherever Councils could be induced to take up the matter. In every city where the people voted upon the question, the plebiscite was carried. The following results were recorded:

	<i>Majority</i>
Strathroy.....	259
Guelph.....	302
Thamesville.....	Large
Orangeville.....	Large
Clinton.....	115
Bracebridge.....	Large
North Bay.....	Large

*

Public Utility Notes.¹—*The Utilities Magazine*, the first issue of which has recently come from the press, is to be published by the Utilities Bureau, which was organized at a meeting of American mayors held in Philadelphia, November, 1914, "as a nation-wide inter-city agency for bringing the combined ability and experience of all our cities to the service of each city which may face a public utility problem."²

¹ From Prof. Clyde Lyndon King.

² See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 297.

The leading article is by Harold Evans of the Philadelphia bar and deals interestingly with the vital subject of the right of a plaintiff to examine the books and properties of a utility company. Citations are made, giving the circumstances under which this right falls to the plaintiff or defendant in a utilities suit. An interesting table, comparing the cost of gas, manufactured and delivered, exclusive of taxes and all capital charges, in 19 American cities reveals that the cost averages less than 50 cents, ranging from .3184 cents in Milwaukee to .6215 cents in Westchester and certain suburbs near New York City. The director of the bureau, Morris Llewellyn Cooke, discusses the recent decision in the case of *Stadlander et al. vs. the New York Edison Company* as handed down by the Public service commission of the first district, and an article by Clyde L. King gives a complete digest of the ordinances regulating jitney buses adopted in American cities. Notice is given of a conference on valuation methods and principles, to be held under the auspices of the bureau, November 10 to 13, 1915.

Standardized Street Railway Ordinances. Street railway ordinances are "just as much working tools of the street railway as the equipment. It is just as essential to know their capacities and limitations as it is to know the capacities and limitations of a piece of track or of a type of equipment." These needs can be attained, says Herbert H. Evans, the secretary of the local transportation committee of the Chicago city council, in *Aera*, through standardizing street railway ordinances. "It is possible to standardize ordinances almost to the same degree that it has been possible to standardize equipment, and with the same happy result." When it comes to giving definite illustrations of what he means by standardization, however, the author is not at all lucid, his most valuable suggestion being that phraseology, once used and standardized, should be repeated in subsequent ordinances or amendments so that the whole would appear in practically identical language so far as the public interests were con-

cerned. "Many acrimonious controversies arise between the public authorities and the companies because some minor variation from the usual form occurs in a particular ordinance, or because some special provision is tucked away in an obscure ordinance, forgotten and afterward discovered."

Amount Invested in Street and Elevated Railway Lines in Massachusetts. The Massachusetts public service commission, under date of January 13, 1915, submitted (House Document No. 1636) a report showing that the total permanent investments in street railway and elevated lines in that state amounted, on July 30, 1914, to \$201,124,351.83, of which \$1,106,500 was working capital. This shows a total increase in permanent investments from September 30, 1902, of \$89,837,714.31. An appendix to the report gives certain presumed facts as to the history of public ownership of transportation in Massachusetts.

"Electrical Measuring Instruments" is the title of Circular No. 20 of the bureau of standards. The monograph presents the fundamental principles underlying the construction and operation of commercial electrical measuring instruments, together with such information concerning the advantages and limitations of the various types of instruments as will assist the user in the determination of the general type best suited to a given purpose. The question of sources of error has been treated in some detail, with a threefold purpose: First, to suggest how some errors may be avoided; second, how corrections may be made for known sources of errors; and third, to furnish suggestions which will assist those who have to specify instrument performance or to select instruments.

Arguments against Public Ownership made easy and without cost is the evident intent of the loose-leaf items "For brief of arguments against public ownership" being circulated by the Bell telephone company. Thus, Item No. 268 on a perforated sheet, ready to slip into Index No. B2, is an extract from a speech by Theodore Roosevelt in New Orleans on September

7, 1914. Item No. 269 is an extract from the report of the postmaster-general of the United States for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914. Item No. 282 is an extract from an English engineer who had been appointed to investigate the working of the telephone and telegraph systems in European countries. Supplement No. 23A is devoted to telephone and telegraph statistics of the world. Is it through carefully indexed, well-prepared items put up in ready reference form that a democracy is to be educated as to the disadvantages of public ownership and its utilities?

✱

*The Gas Lease in Philadelphia.*¹—The annual report of Judson C. Dickerman, chief of the bureau of gas, Philadelphia, sets a high-water mark for merit. The function of this bureau is to supervise the quality of gas furnished to the citizens of the city, by the united gas improvement company as the lessee of the city's gas plant. The "gas lease" gave to the lessees the use of a plant of a book cost of \$17,000,000 "and considered worth \$30,000,000 by a city official in 1897," free from taxes and fees, with the right to receive for all gas sold from 90 to 75 cents per 1,000 cubic feet. The city, on its side, was to receive periodically increased payments in cash, a limited number of free gas street lamps, all free gas needed in public buildings for lighting purposes, certain improvements and enlargements in its gas works and the privilege of receiving back the property with certain expected improvements in 1927.

In 1897 consumers paid \$3,000,000 for the gas then used. In 1914 consumers paid nearly \$10,000,000 for gas at the rate of \$1 per thousand cubic feet. In 1927, when the gas lease expires, consumers may be reasonably expected to be paying \$20,000,000. From 1897 to 1915 consumers have paid the company over \$117,000,000 for gas. Of this \$117,000,000, \$16,000,000 went in cash payments to the city; \$20,200,000 is supposed to have gone, under the lease, to property

¹ From Prof. Clyde Lyndon King.

added to the gas works; \$2,800,000 for the street lamp service; and \$65,100,000 is estimated as the cost of making and delivering the gas; leaving "a net profit over all expenditures or investments of \$13,000,000 to the united gas improvement company in seventeen years." The estimated profit for the year 1915 was \$2,250,000 on about 22 cents per thousand cubic feet. By 1925-27, the net profit will "very likely be \$5,000,000 a year."

Chief Dickerman particularly points out that there will be a "very natural attitude on the part of the lessees to restrict betterments throughout the years that are to follow the thirteen years before the end of the lease." That is, unless improvements made by them will make a profit to the company before 1927, it is to be expected that they will reluctantly make the improvements. The chief, therefore, recommends that "a competent engineering supervision beginning now" should "get records of the good service now given to compare with possible poorer service later, to study the effects of improvements in other places, keeping tabs on the growth of the business." Public officials should insist on a strict interpretation of the lease which provides that the city shall receive "a first class modern full capacity plant" at the end of the tenure. The chief further points out that the city could now operate the plant at a profit and sell gas at 65 cents per cubic foot. As pointed out above, the price is now \$1; 20 cents of which goes into the city treasury and 80 cents to the company.

The Philadelphia plant is often held up as one of the "horrible examples" of municipal ownership in this country before the lease was signed. Prof. L. S. Rowe, in his book on "Problems of city government," devotes a chapter to the history of this Philadelphia plant and shows that it never was, in any true sense of the word, a *public* plant, being operated first under a trust (the trustees being competent to appoint their own successors under the judicial interpretation of particular statutes) and then finally by those who were interested in making the plant the "spoils of

office" and a poor investment in order that certain financiers could take it over on a private lease.

The report also discusses the reasonableness of electric light rates in the city of Philadelphia, presenting, among other things, (a) the rates for electricity in certain American cities for power (2 kw. installation for 1914) and (b) electric rates for commercial lighting in designated cities.



Municipal Ownership in Seattle.—The municipal light and power plant of Seattle, according to Oliver T. Erickson, has proved to be a great success. When it was first put into operation, the lighting rates were about 20 cents per kw. hour. Power rates were in about the same ratio. After the operation of the municipal plant, the rates were reduced practically 50 per cent. At the present time, the maximum rate for residence lighting is $5\frac{1}{2}$ cents per kw. hour, with a rate of 2 cents for all consumption over 45 kw. hours per month. The municipal water plant has likewise been a success. It is stated that practically no city in the United States, under circumstances similar to those which prevail in Seattle, furnishes cheaper water to its residents than does this city.



Public Safety Notes.¹—*Calisthenic Manual for Firemen.* Commissioner Adamson of the New York fire department has issued to the uniformed force an illustrated calisthenic manual containing about thirty-six simple setting-up exercises, to be performed daily by all firemen for a period of fifteen minutes except when the men are fatigued from fire duty, when the exercise hour arrives. The commissioner hopes by means of these exercises to keep the men in as good physical condition as when they first entered the department.

Centralized Police Reserves. Commissioner Woods of New York is substituting centralized district reserve forces for the small precinct reserves formerly

¹ From Leonhard Felix Fuld, Ph.D.

maintained for emergency use. Under this new plan a larger force under a competent superior officer will always be available for emergency service in each police district, in lieu of the small precinct forces formerly maintained in each precinct. Reserves will be transported to the scene of trouble in automobile patrol wagons.

President of International Police Association. By electing Michael Regan, chief of police of Buffalo, as its president, the international association of chiefs of police has placed at the head of the police profession in America a man who closely approximates the ideal American police officer. Chief Regan has risen to his present position from the ranks; he has displayed more than average personal and moral courage in the performance of his duties and he is a close student of police administration throughout the world.

Prizes for Police Suggestions. Commissioner Woods of the New York police department has recently commended several policemen for submitting to him excellent suggestions for improving the efficiency of the police administration. Among the suggestions which won awards were the following: Substitution of a blackboard containing complaints and orders for each patrol post, instead of reading such orders to all policemen from the desk; the establishment of a permanent school of instruction for all ranks; the equipment of an automobile for emergency life-saving, fire-fighting and criminal investigation work; the equipment of police signal boxes for the transmission of citizens' calls; the detention of prisoners at centralized court prisons instead of at precinct station houses.

Care of Policemen's Feet. The *Bulletin of the New York Police Department* for July is devoted to an exceptionally clear exposition of the proper care of the feet. This bulletin explains the structure of the feet, the causes of painful foot conditions and the best hygienic measures and exercises to prevent such foot troubles. The careful study of this bulletin by the members of the New York force will greatly in-

crease their physical efficiency. The bulletin possesses such great police value that chiefs of police in other cities should seek to place the material contained in it within reach of their own men.

Resignation of Major Sylvester. The retirement because of ill-health of Major Sylvester, Washington's superintendent of police, removes from active police service the man who has done more than any one else to place American police administration on a plane of efficiency. His annual reports for more than a decade have been models of what police reports should be, the International association of chiefs of police which he organized has served to bring together in a bond of good fellowship and active co-operation all police officials on this continent and his central clearing house for finger-print and Bertillon records, which has been at the call of police officers of every city, has served to detect and has aided in the arrest of numerous criminals. Major Sylvester is succeeded by Raymond W. Pullman, a newspaper man with wide experience in social service work but without any experience in police work.

Veteran Policemen in Albany. Albany policemen who after many years of faithful service are not capable of severe or prolonged physical exertion, but are still valuable members of the department, are assigned to the veteran grade, given light details and a salary of \$600. This plan would seem to be in the interests of economy and efficiency.

Seattle Police Report. The report of Austin E. Griffiths, chief of police of Seattle, to the mayor of that city containing 45 observations and suggestions relating to police work contains an admirable summary of the fundamental principles of modern American police administration.

Chicago Crime Report. The recent report of the Chicago council committee on crime contains a clear exposition of the causes of American police inefficiency and numerous recommendations for the correction of these causes, which have been obtained by criminological, psychological and sociological research. The practical

police officer will find its recommendations for the improvement of police organization and methods in Chicago most helpful. The recommendations are sound in principle and many of them have already been adopted by the New York police department.

*

Organization of Policewomen.—The policewomen of the country have been organized to attract women of the best type. They will spread the idea of putting women on the police force, placing special emphasis upon crime prevention and protective measures for women and children, without interfering in any way with the regular police work. Mrs. Alice Stebbins Wells of Los Angeles has been chosen president of the organization which is an outcome of the Baltimore meeting of the National conference of charities and correction; Miss Mary S. Harvey of Baltimore, vice-president; Mrs. Georgianna Sherrot of Minneapolis, secretary; and Miss Annie McCully of Dayton, treasurer.

*

Chicago's Efficiency Division.—Following shortly after the inauguration of Mayor William Hale Thompson, his completely new civil service commission made a sweeping attack upon its own efficiency division by discontinuing the services of the greater portion of the permanent staff and indicating an intention of wiping out the division entirely. Percy B. Coffin, chairman of the new civil service commission, with the concurrence of his associates, E. C. Racey and J. P. Geary, in issuing the ouster order, assigned "lack of work and funds" as the reason for this action. This was made despite the fact that appropriations in the 1915 budget were available. At least five investigations were under way and a request for the beginning of six other surveys had been made by the city council finance committee.

Rebuked in this move, the civil service commission then raised the cry of "extravagance" and "illegality of appropriations" for the positions in the efficiency

division. President Coffin also stated, among other things, to the press, that "the commission's action was no scheme to get employment for anyone else and that the places made vacant would not be filled."

A charge of extravagance or other charges required by the civil service law before employes can be removed from the civil service in Chicago did not materialize, and temporary appointments have been made to more than half of the vacated positions without regard to the civil service law and existing reinstatement lists, the commission taking a new stand "that the positions provided for under the civil service commission are not under the classified service and may therefore be filled without regard to civil service." Those who have studied the law governing the civil service administration in Chicago have not been able to find any basis for this position, and have advised the employes who are affected to take court action, which advice has since been followed.

The real underlying causes of the upheaval seem to be the pressure of the Chicago federation of labor, which objected to an effort of the efficiency division to work out, with the city departments, some solution to the question of inefficiency and superannuation among members of the trades, and the desire, it seems, of certain forces of the new administration to be left free to do as they please, without check on work and expenditures. The demands and necessity of loading up the pay-roll with "political obligations" incurred during the mayoralty campaign also seem, from subsequent happenings, to have prompted the above-mentioned actions of the administration.

Ignoring the campaign promises of Mayor Thompson that he would not build up a political machine and that he would encourage any and all agencies which make for responsible government, the tactics of the mayor's newly appointed civil service commission, in violating the civil service law which it was sworn to enforce in all departments and in disorganizing the efficiency division, precipi-

tated a fight by members of the council, and has brought forth protests from civic organizations and the press.

The efficiency division was first created by council action and made a part of the civil service commission early in 1909, under J. L. Jacobs, who has taken great pride in developing his work. This action was taken as a result of disclosures brought out in investigations by the municipal efficiency commission and the so-called Merriam commission on city expenditures, which found unbusinesslike and loose methods and general lack of system or control of the 18,000 civil service employes in the city departments. Appropriations of approximately \$30,000 have been made each year since. The permanent staff of experts and investigators which were recruited from the civil service eligible registers has, at the request of the council, the finance and other committees thereof, and of department heads, investigated and reported on the organization activities and methods of practically every department of the city government.

During this period, in co-operation with the council and the department heads, civil service administration has been raised to a high business standard, conditions of employment improved, both as to service rendered and opportunities of employes, and various measures adopted looking toward effective and responsible government administration.

In such inquiries it was found that the information thus obtained, beyond the specific result in view, has been vital, first, to the finance committee and the council in determining judicious apportionment of the \$40,000,000 appropriated each year; second, to the departments and bureaus in securing and maintaining efficient administration; and third, to the civil service commission in the proper selection and control of the service and the promotion and separation of employes. The efficiency division had become an integral part of the municipal government, acting as a co-ordinating force as between departments and council committees. With a broad and general view of the entire activities of the city administration, it

was in a position to aid the different branches of the service in the preparation of estimates and the annual budget, to solving problems of employment, management and methods.

The finance committee, which is composed of fifteen of the most independent and aggressive members of any such committee Chicago has had for a number of years, and a number of other aggressive council members, have taken up the fight for the continuation of the work begun by the efficiency division.

Through the committee on finance, an ordinance was presented and passed unanimously by the council at its last meeting held July 16, 1915, establishing a department to be known as the board of standards and apportionment, which is to be under the supervision and control of a board consisting of the city comptroller and a representation of the council committee on finance, consisting of the chairman and three members thereof. Fifteen thousand dollars was appropriated at the same time for the expenses and salaries of the staff to carry on the work during the remainder of 1915. This ordinance has not, to this date, been signed by the mayor, who, under the council rules, has the right to withhold his signature or may veto an ordinance until the next council meeting. Owing to the summer vacation, the next meeting will not be held until the first week in October. It appears, however, that a sufficiently large majority of the council, which perhaps is the strongest and most independent council Chicago has had, is aligned to have this board begin work immediately. Should the mayor veto the ordinance, a successful fight over his veto will probably result.

The ordinance as passed provides that the board shall annually, between September 1 and December 1, prepare and transmit to the committee on finance a budget of the amounts estimated to be required during the ensuing fiscal year, to meet the necessary outlays, expenses and liabilities of Chicago, and in other ways to exercise supervision over all budgetary matters. Each department is required,

under the ordinance, to submit to the city comptroller, not later than August 1 of each year, an estimate in writing of the amounts necessary "in such form and manner, and shall be supported by such work programs, schedules and exhibits as the board of standards shall prescribe." It is a further duty of the board to "conduct such investigations and studies from time to time of the efficiency of organization, administration, engineering and operating accounting, finance and business procedure of the various departments and units of the municipal government and prescribe such standards and specifications necessary to secure economy and efficiency, as will enable it to pass with intelligence upon the various departmental estimates."

✦

A Unique Example of Efficiency Methods as applied to cleaning filter beds is afforded by Philadelphia, where the principles of scientific management have been applied by the bureau of water. This bureau lays out the work of each gang of men in such a way as to provide a definite task to be accomplished by each individual, and by all, in a day. The method employed is: Rotation of cleaning the filters is planned in advance by well-defined rule; a definite area of sand to clean is assigned to each gang, this area depending upon the depth of cleaning necessary. This setting of tasks has increased the output of each gang 15 per cent and it is expected to increase it at least 25 per cent. Accurate records are kept, showing the time consumed by each gang. Cost accounts, as well as pay-roll, are made up from the time tickets furnished to the men; improved apparatus and machinery are under consideration; methods of determining depths of sand to clean are being standardized.

✦

Service Instruction for Street Cleaners.—Commissioner Fetherston of the New York street cleaning department has introduced a system of service instruction for his employees by publishing a set of text-books on each of the standard operations of street cleaning and by providing for the giving of systematic instruction

from these text-books by the foremen at regular intervals.

✦

City Planning in Ohio.—The 1915 legislature has enacted a law whereby the council of each municipality that is still operating under the general municipal code of 1902 may establish a city planning commission of seven members: the mayor, the service director, the president of the board of park commissioners and four citizens of the municipality, who shall serve without compensation and who shall be appointed by the mayor for terms of six years, except that the term of two of the members of the first commission shall be for three years. Whenever such a commission is appointed it shall have all the powers conferred in the general code; and to make plans and maps of the whole, or any portion of the city and of any land outside the municipality, which in the opinion of the commission bears relation to the planning of the city, and to make changes in such plans or maps when it deems same advisable. Such maps or plans shall show the commission's recommendations for new streets, alleys, ways, viaducts, bridges, subways, parkways, parks, playgrounds or any other public grounds or public improvements, and the removal, relocation, widening or extension of such public works then existing. With a view to the systematic planning of the municipalities, the commission may make recommendations to the mayor, council and department heads concerning the location of streets, transportation and communication facilities, public buildings and grounds. It also has the power to control, preserve and care for historical land marks, to control in the manner provided by ordinance the design and location of statuary and other works of art, which are or may become the property of the city, and the removal, relocation and alteration of any such works belonging to the municipality; and the design of harbors, bridges, viaducts, street fixtures and other public structures and appurtenances.

The passage of the bill involves some interesting history. The bill was ap-

parently dead and the legislature was in its last legislative day, with the politicians all opposed to the measure. The city planning committee of the Women's city club of Cincinnati, Mrs. B. A. Wallingford, chairman, took hold of the matter, rescued the measure from the waste basket and put it through. The American City Bureau's city planning exhibition was in Cincinnati at the time and the activities connected with it was one of the chief elements in making it possible to put through the city planning commission law, arousing the city club and similar organizations to the possibilities of the situation. The exhibition was held under the auspices of the United city planning committee of Cincinnati (E. L. Heinsheimer, chairman; C. R. Hebble, secretary).

An excess condemnation law was also passed by the Ohio legislature.

✱

St. Louis Art Commission.—St. Louis has established an unpaid municipal art commission of nine to advise the board of public service in regard to the design and decoration of all public structures. The commission will serve as an auxiliary just as the city plan commission does. Three of the members of the new commission serve as ex-officio members: The president of the board of public service, director of the city art museum and commissioner of parks and recreation.

✱

Ousting Mayors.—Governor Willis of Ohio has announced that he will not take any action on the complaints made to him against Mayor Keller of Columbus. In a formal statement explaining his decision, the governor said that he would take a similar attitude in regard to mayors of other municipalities concerning whom objections have been voiced. Only positive danger to the city of pillage, disorder, or misrule would justify him exercising his power to remove the mayor of a municipality. Otherwise the whole theory of civic responsibility would be upset, and the right of municipalities to govern themselves would be invaded. Governor Willis pointed out that the complainants have their remedy in the courts, where the

accused officials would have full right of trial. This remedy was provided in the statute passed at the 1912 session in compliance with the constitutional amendment adopted to facilitate the removal of objectionable officials.

✱

London Councillors in Active War Service.—The war has made great gaps in the ranks of municipal councillors. No less than 21 municipal reform members of the London county council are on service at the front. Naturally there is difficulty in manning the numerous committees of the council, and upon those members of the council who are able to continue their civic service falls a largely increased amount of work. The weekly meetings of the council since the recess have been remarkable for their unanimity and brevity. All parties on the council seem to have agreed to eliminate the party spirit and to conduct London government upon business lines. It is strange that one great aim of the London municipal society, for which they have striven earnestly should have been thus fully accomplished through an outbreak of war.

As regards the London borough councils, they also have lost many members who have gone on active service. Actual figures are not yet available, but probably a hundred borough councillors are serving their country.

✱

German Unemployment.¹—The dislocation of industry at the outbreak of war caused widespread unemployment in Germany which seems to have been more severe in the case of women than of men. Strenuous efforts have been made to meet the needs of the former apparently with a large degree of success. Thus the women's department of the central employment office in Berlin, which filled 20,447 places in the business year 1913-14, has filled no fewer than 52,463 places in 1914-15. At the outbreak of war, when the distress was greatest, the office directly cared for 3,000 women. It provided work rooms, borrowed machinery from manufacturers, secured contracts from the war department and put its charges to work making

¹ From Prof. Robert C. Brooks.

shirts, trousers, felt shoes, etc., for soldiers. Large quantities of leather goods for military uses were also manufactured by these women. Outside the shops established by the central employment office women are being placed in chemical factories and men's tailoring shops, operate elevators and, equipped with bicycles, do messenger work. They clean windows and have taken up the work of destroying insect pests. A female chimney-sweep is also reported. Large numbers have found employment as street car conductors, and the first woman driver of a motor truck made her appearance some time ago. There are a great many female cab-drivers, most of them young women from the country who have been familiar from childhood with horses and wagons. In the agricultural districts women laborers are in larger demand than ever and during the harvest season this demand was, of course, very great. Special efforts were made by the central office in behalf of unemployed women who had been trained for commercial work. It put itself into communication with government departments, the courts, the museum administration, banks, insurance com-

panies, law offices, etc., and was thus able to secure many places for educated women who had lost their former employment.

Of 9,000 conductors and motormen on the street railway system of Greater Berlin, 4,000 were called to the colors immediately upon the outbreak of war. From time to time considerable drafts have been made upon the remainder. To meet these losses in part, the company has employed women, of whom about two thousand are now working as conductors. Others are being prepared to fill vacancies in five schools for the training of women conductors which have been established in Charlottenburg, Lichterfelde, Treptow, Lichtenberg and Weissensee. In these schools three days of eight hours each are devoted to theoretical instruction, after which the students are given practical training on cars. Before appointment each candidate must pass a final examination conducted by a traffic inspector. Berlin has taken the innovation sympathetically and it is conceded that the women are performing their duties successfully. It is not the intention of the companies, however, to continue their employment after the war.

II. POLITICS¹

Chicago Street Railway Strike.—In June, Chicago for two days was tied up by a strike of 10,800 employes of the surface roads which carry an average of 3,044,650 passengers a day and 3,200 employes of the elevated roads which carry an average of 712,000 passengers a day. The surface roads operate 1,095 miles of track, and the elevated, 215. Mayor Thompson² took a firm hand from the start, and sought conciliation first, then insisted on arbitration. He is properly given credit for a victory. He held the traction company officials and the union leaders in his office for eighteen hours in an all night session behind closed

doors until they agreed to arbitration and an arbitrator. A temporary agreement was signed to be in force until the board of arbitration gave its verdict. The following were in the conference:

Mayor William Hale Thompson, Alderman Henry D. Capitain, chairman of the aldermanic "peace" committee; Alderman James H. Lawley, Alderman John A. Richert, Alderman William J. Healy, Alderman Willis O. Nance, Leonard A. Busby, president of the Chicago surface lines; Britton I. Budd, president of the Chicago elevated railways; Henry A. Blair, chairman of the board of operation of the surface lines; William D. Mahon, international president of the car men's organization; William Taber, secretary surface lines union; William Quinlan, president of the surface lines union;

¹Except as otherwise indicated these notes are prepared by Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

²See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iii, p. 484.

Edward McMorow, general executive committeeman, surface lines union; L. D. Bland, editor of the *Union Leader*, the car men's official organ; John J. Bruce, president of the elevated men's union; Maurice Lynch, assistant secretary surface lines union; W. S. McClenathan, secretary of the elevated men's union and vice-president of their international association; James A. Pugh, Charles C. Fitzmorris, the mayor's secretary.

The arbitrators finally chosen were State Attorney Macley Hoyne for the men, James M. Sheehan for the companies and Mayor Thompson as umpire.

The Chicago *Tribune* in summarizing the results of the arbitration declared that the men had won a big victory in the arbitration. Under the old scale which precipitated the strike, the men had to work five years before receiving the maximum pay of 32 cents an hour. Now the men will be paid according to the following schedule:

FIRST YEAR OF CONTRACT

	Old Scale Cents	New Scale Cents
First year men—		
First three months	23	26
Second three months	25	28
Second six months	26	29
Second year men—		
First six months	27	31
Second six months	28	31
Third year men	29	32
Fourth year men	30	33
Fifth year men	31	35

SECOND YEAR OF CONTRACT

First year men—		
First three months	23	27
Second three months	25	29
Second six months	26	30
Second year men—		
First six months	27	32
Second six months	28	32
Third year men—	29	33
Fourth year men	30	34
Fifth year men	31	36
Snow plow and sweeper men		36e
Car repair foremen (day)		\$125
Car repair foremen (night)		110
Receivers		105
Tunnel and bridge men		75
Flag and crossing men		65

Mechanics in west side shops not under union contract will get a 3-cent an hour increase.

Car repairers, motor repairers, inspectors, dopers, and body repairers will receive \$2.40 in first year of service, \$2.70 in second year, and \$3 in third year.

Car placers, \$2.40 first year of service, after that \$2.75 a day.

Cleaners, janitors, washers, and other line men, \$2.10 a day first year of service and \$2.40 thereafter.

The award will establish in Chicago the highest wages for street car men in the United States.

The car companies win but one big point—arbitration. They got that when Mayor Thompson locked all parties to the disagreement in his office in the memorable eighteen-hour conference. By establishing the arbitration principle under such spectacular and dramatic conditions both the car men and the company representatives believe that arbitration will render practically impossible strikes of car men for all time to come in Chicago.

The company's representative filed a dissenting opinion, but declared "the company, in view of the great public interest involved and the possible effects of such course upon the best interests and welfare of this community, has decided not to avail itself of its legal rights in this particular.

"I have endeavored to state my views frankly. I cannot concur in this award. I cannot concur in the method by which the award was reached; but notwithstanding this, the company which I represent wishes it distinctly understood that this award will be accepted and faithfully carried out. The company has stood and will continue to stand, for the principle of arbitration, regardless of whether the outcome in any particular arbitration favors one side or the other."

In the course of the hearings it was disclosed that the president of the street railway company received a salary of \$60,000 a year.

Mayor Thompson, who was a member of the board of arbitrators, reached the following conclusions about the men:

1. Most of the employees of the traction companies are married men.
2. The average age of employees is 35.
3. The average length of service is eight years.
4. The average number of children in families of employees is two.
5. Ninety per cent of the men are married.
6. Very little money is saved by the employees.
7. Most of the men have their own homes, but are paying for them on installment plans.
8. The men saved money before joining the ranks of the street car employees.
9. Nearly all employees carry life insurance, averaging between \$1,500 and \$3,000, mostly with fraternal organi-

zations. 10. Very few employes carry no insurance. 11. The employes almost unanimously favor an old-age pension system. 12. Few employes have any savings in banks. 13. A large percentage of the men have no other trade or vocation. 14. Many employes sought work with the traction companies to better their conditions and to work in the open air.

✱

English Unions v. City Government.—

In the wide survey of social and economic affairs made by the members of the trades union congress at Liverpool, it was inevitable that matters of direct or indirect interest to local authorities should have been discussed. That of widest importance was the question of the organization of municipal employes. The terms of the resolution on this subject were: "That any method of organization which seeks to divide workmen employed by public authorities or private employers from their fellows in the same occupations employed by private firms is detrimental to the best interests of trade unionism and that the parliamentary committee use its best endeavors to prevent the spread of such methods of organization." The mover of the resolution instanced the case of the Municipal employes' union, which, he pointed out, had induced workmen to join its ranks from other organizations. It would be dangerous, he contended, to endorse that principle. A representative of the Municipal employes' association, South London, moved as an amendment to the resolution to delete all the words after "detrimental to the" and substitute "financial interests of the amalgamated association of tramway and vehicle workers, the national amalgamated union of labor, and the gas workers' and general laborers' union, by the unskilled workmen of municipal bodies having a union of their own, the same as the postal and government workers, the railway servants, the miners, the builders' laborers, the cotton operatives and others." He said that when, 16 years ago, he entered the municipal service, he found that the men employed by the local authorities were not organized. He

did his best to get men inside the ranks of that organization, and with a fair amount of success. On a vote by card the amendment was lost by an overwhelming majority, and the original resolution was then put and carried.

✱

Dallas, Texas.—Mayor Lindsley believes that the platform upon which a candidate is elected should be the guide of his administration, so he has set about redeeming his pledges. In a little over four months he and his colleagues have made the following record:

E. W. Bemis, Chicago, has been secured to make a thorough investigation of all public utilities in Dallas.

A model jitney ordinance has been passed and is now in force.

Bids have been awarded for purchasing 12,500 water meters, enough to meter every water connection in Dallas, preparatory to reducing water rate.

Arrangements are now being made to create 8-hour shifts for police instead of 12-hour shifts now obtaining. The police department has been reorganized, the chief's salary raised and the spirit of co-operation by the men is excellent.

In connection with the pavement of streets of the city, several reforms have been inaugurated. A municipal paving company is maintained by the city, saving 50 per cent on all maintenance work. No pavement is ordered unless street to be paved connects with other pavement.

The legal department has been conducting a fight defending the city's right to assess benefits where streets are opened for condemnation. This is holding up many opening and widening plans which should be carried out.

John Findlay Wallace has been employed to suggest correct solution to the grade crossing evil in Dallas. His men are now at work.

The city of Dallas has secured the agreement of a company furnishing natural gas to build lines adequate to supply the city under all conditions.

The city commissioners are investigating the Somers system of taxation.

An effort is being made to secure an

amendment to the state constitution making it possible to own bonds in the state without being compelled to pay taxes on them.

A complete reorganization of the health department has been made including sanitation, city health department and hospital work.

The department of public welfare has been effectively organized. Besides this, Carl H. Nau of Cleveland, Ohio, has been secured to make an investigation of the system now in use with the idea of increasing its efficiency.

*

The Examination for the Cleveland Commissionership of Charities and Correction.—The new Cleveland charter provides that all appointive officers, except directors of departments and such heads of divisions as the civil service commission may determine, shall be in the classified service. The commission, after a public hearing at which the Civic league strenuously urged that all heads of divisions be kept in the classified service, decided to do so. In due course the various examinations were held. J. B. Vining was the incumbent in the office of commissioner of charities and correction. He, together with three Cleveland citizens and an assistant in a similar department in Philadelphia, took the examination. Mr. Vining stood fourth. Dr. Cooley, director of public welfare, wanted to reappoint Mr. Vining and took occasion to criticize the civil service commission on the manner of holding the examination and the character of the questions. Mr. Vining claimed that he answered some of the questions as a single taxer would answer them, and that the examining board, being hostile to single tax, discounted his replies. The Civic league tried to answer all of the criticisms in the following statement; and after it was published, no further discussion was had in the newspapers and Dr. Cooley appointed W. H. Winans, the man who stood second on the list, who, at the time of his appointment, was secretary to Dr. Cooley.

The Civic league statement declared that the league had completed its investi-

gations of the civil service examination for the commissioner of charities and correction which was begun soon after Dr. Cooley and Mr. Vining entered their protests against the methods adopted and the questions used in the examination. Both criticized the commission for selecting a board of three citizens to conduct the examination. They asserted that the questions did not adequately cover the field and Mr. Vining declared in an open letter that he had been crucified because of his political and economic opinions.

The league's report of its investigation, which is signed by Morris A. Black, chairman of the executive board, Duane H. Tilden, chairman of the civil service committee, and Mayo Fesler, secretary, denies all of these charges and concludes that the examination in every detail was conducted in full conformity with the letter and spirit of the civil service law and the best practices of civil service commissions everywhere, and that it was a fair and sound method of determining the qualifications of candidates for the position. The report expressed regret that the director of the welfare department has shown a hesitancy to abide by the results of the examination which the league believes only tends to discourage competent men from entering the examinations for the higher positions. The report is a complete denial of the criticisms made by Director Cooley and a full approval of the methods used by the Civil service commission in the examination.

*

The Political Activity of Women.—The revelations of election frauds at *Terre Haute* have astounded the country. The conviction of those responsible for them reassured those who felt perturbed over the situation. The "cleaning up" is to be attributed largely to the women of the city. "While," as the *Philadelphia Ledger* points out, "the majority of the men were too disgusted and disheartened to keep up the fight for honest government, the women stuck to the end. They watched the polls, they photographed the repeaters, and then they demanded that the government of the United States take

a hand in cleaning up the situation and finally brought the leaders of the city in line to fight for decency." In *Warren, Ill.*, Mrs. Angela Rose Canfield was elected mayor, being the first woman ever chosen to such an office in that state. In *West Hammond, Ill.*, Mrs. Charles Washburne, formerly Virginia Brooks¹ took an active part in the recent campaign and succeeded in electing the head of the Taxpayers' ticket, Paul Kamradt, pledged to clean up unlicensed saloons and disorderly houses in the red light district, defeating her oldtime enemy, Martin Finneran.

✱

Frostburg's City Manager.—The remarks of George Stern of Frostburg, Md., at the Baltimore meeting of the National Municipal League² brought forth several queries which we asked Mr. Stern to answer for the benefit of our readers. Here is the note we wrote him:

"We are writing to ask whether you will send us a brief note making clear the following points:

"(1) Whether you resigned as mayor to become city manager or combined the two offices?

"(2) Whether you actually served as manager or retired when the council insisted in retaining all the old employees?

"(3) How long you served as city manager, if at all?

"(4) Did someone else become city

manager and if so when, and who that person is if he is still in office?"

This is the reply:

"(1) Under a resolution of council, I was named city manager in addition to my duties as mayor.

"(2) The city officials however—water superintendent, street superintendent, clerk (these three had been elected by the council at its first meeting), and the chief of police (elected by the people) refused to render reports asked for by the city manager and to do their share in reorganizing the work along the lines I suggested; when I brought the matter to the attention of the council, it refused to take action necessary to give me sufficient authority to do the work, and of course, I resigned as city manager.

"(3) I served one month.

"(4) No one else has been named city manager."

✱

Oakland, Cal., Politics.—A misplaced "and" made it appear on page 487 of the July issue as if William S. Irving was the Socialist candidate. The sentence should have read: "there were three candidates, the present incumbent; J. Stitt Wilson, the Socialist candidate; and William S. Irving." In condensing the item on the proof the initials of the successful candidate, William S. Irving, got awry. The mistakes are regretted. They were promptly discovered by the editor, but too late for correction.

III. JUDICIAL DECISIONS

Obstruction of Street a Nuisance.—The Maryland court of appeals in *B. & O. R. R. Co. vs. Gilmore*,³ held that the obstruction of a highway being a "common nuisance" and a public wrong, the proper remedy is by indictment and criminal proceedings; that the only persons who may maintain a civil action are those who suffer peculiar damage from such

obstruction, and that in case plaintiff fails to show peculiar damage, he is not entitled to an injunction.

✱

Governmental Functions: Liability for Negligence.—The Minnesota supreme court in *Ackert vs. Minneapolis*,⁴ found that municipalities are not liable in damages for negligence in performing municipal functions unless such liability has been imposed by statute, and except for injuries resulting from dangerous conditions

¹ See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. i, pp. 504, 677.

² See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 48.

³ 94 A. 200.

⁴ 150 N. W. 976.

in their streets. Under the Minnesota law this would, therefore, seem to be the only case in which a municipality can be held in damages in the absence of a statute imposing such liability.

✱

Formation of Port Districts.—Under the Oregon statutes, a port district may be created as a separate municipality. The law provides for the inclusion within the district of certain prescribed territory. In *State vs. Johnson et al*¹ the supreme court of the state held that the fact of the inclusion within a proposed port of land not authorized under the statute does not invalidate the proceedings for incorporation where the quantity so included is negligible and its inclusion could have had no appreciable effect on the election, and it does not infringe on the taxable property of any other port.

✱

Independent Contractor and Municipal Liability for Nuisance.—The New York court of appeals held, in *Herman vs. City of Buffalo*,² that while a municipal corporation is answerable for damages caused by the maintenance of a nuisance on its land by its own servants, it is not liable for such a nuisance created by competent, independent contractors, or sub-contractors. The court found that an owner is not liable to third persons for the injurious acts of contractors, unless the acts are imposed on the owner, and thus cannot be delegated so as to exempt him from liability, or in case where the thing contracted to be done is necessarily unlawful or the injury is a direct result of the work required of the independent contractor under the terms of his contract or by the orders of the owner.

✱

Recall: Last Preceding Election.—The California statutes provide that a petition for the recall of municipal officers shall be signed by voters equal in number to one-fourth of the votes cast for all candidates for the office occupied by the incumbent sought to be removed "at the last preced-

ing municipal election at which such officer was voted for." The district court of appeal for the second district, in *Robinson vs. Anderson*,³ held that the election to be considered in determining the number of petitioners for the recall of certain trustees is the last regular municipal election at which the particular officers sought to be recalled were voted for, and not a subsequent election at which other trustees were voted for.

✱

Bona Fide Purchasers of Municipal Bonds.—The circuit court of appeals, in *Dinet vs. Rapid City, S. D.*,⁴ held that in an action on municipal bonds, contested on the grounds that the bonds were illegally issued because of an excess of the constitutional limit of indebtedness, and issued as a donation to a railroad company, though they on their face purported to be issued for the purpose of funding a valid indebtedness, the testimony of a witness to the effect that in a conversation with plaintiff prior to the election, at which the bonds were voted, the plaintiff made statements as to the necessity of carrying the election, might properly be admitted as evidence as to whether he was a purchaser in good faith of the bonds.

✱

Acceptance of Highway by City.—The Kentucky court of appeals held, in *Mulligan vs. McGregor*,⁵ that a city cannot be charged with the duty of accepting and caring for a street by the mere fact that such a street is dedicated within its limits. The court found that the city has the right to elect whether it will assume the burdens of accepting and maintaining the street, and until it does so elect, cannot, by however long usage by the public, be charged with such duty.

In *Curran vs. St. Joseph*,⁶ the Missouri supreme court held that while the dedication of the street and the approval by the city does not require the city to maintain and repair it as a street for the use of the public, the city is so obligated when

¹ 147 P. 1182.

² 222 Fed. 497.

³ 176 S. W. 1129.

⁴ 175 S. W. 584.

⁵ 147 P. 926.

⁶ 108 N. E. 451.

it devotes a highway to the use of the public or invites the public to use it as a street.

✱

Negligence of Employe and Municipal Liability.—In *Rogers vs. City of Atlanta*,¹ the supreme court of Georgia had for consideration a case in which plaintiff sought damages for personal injuries alleged to have been received in consequence of the negligence of firemen in the employ of the city. The facts alleged were that in response to an alarm of fire, sent in by a member of plaintiff's family, the firemen came to the building, and finding smoke issuing from it, cut a hole for the purpose of ascertaining the character of the fire or to enable them to control it. The court held that even assuming the cutting of the hole and the leaving of it in an exposed condition to be negligence on the part of the firemen, the city was not liable for damages caused by such negligence, the court holding in general terms that a municipality is not liable for the acts of its servants and officers in the performance of official and governmental duty.

Liability of the individuals directly responsible is illustrated in the Oregon case of *Pullen vs. City of Eugene*.² In that case the supreme court found that the mayor and councilmen of the city, although they received no compensation for their services as such, were liable for injuries caused by reason of a defective street, it being shown that with notice of the defects they had failed to remedy them, although authorized by the charter of the city to do so.

✱

Written and Oral Contracts.—In *Carson vs. City of Dawson*,³ a valid contract having been entered into providing that no claim for extra labor or material should be allowed unless ordered in writing by the city, and further providing that the city should have the right to make alterations in certain particulars of the work, found that these provisions are independent, so that changes and alterations having been made, necessitating an increase in expense, the contractors were entitled to recover the value of the necessary labor and material, though no written order therefor had been given.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

Street Trees in Los Angeles.—A committee of the Los Angeles city club was appointed to investigate the condition of the street trees and to make recommendations for the improvement thereof. It reported that the city was in urgent need of a consistent and uniform method of planting and cultivating trees on the street parkings to provide shade and ornamentation for the streets, thereby contributing also to the healthfulness of the city. The existing trees have been planted in a haphazard manner as regards variety, uniformity of appearance and suitable location. The maintenance of the trees has been neglected both in cultivation and pruning. In recent years various attempts have apparently been made by owners of subdivisions to plant and main-

tain uniform street trees with fairly good results; but whenever the lots pass into the hands of individual owners, the trees in many instances show the lack of proper attention. The committee made an inspection of the trees planted by the park department early in 1914, and they were found to be in excellent condition as a result of the continuous maintenance provided. Eleven miles of street trees were planted at that time, principally those connecting with country roads leading into the city; this work was provided for and performed by men temporarily out of employment at that time. The cost of this work amounted to \$1.25 per tree for excavation, planting, staking and purchase, and the maintenance has amount-

¹ 84 S. 555.

² 147 P. 768.

³ 176 S. W. 197.

ted to approximately 5 cents per tree per month, or 60 cents per tree per year, water not charged.

Continuing these investigations, the committee found that the city council had recently passed an ordinance providing for the planting, protection and care, and the removal and change of shade and ornamental trees on public streets and for the maintenance thereof and for the levying and collecting of assessments to pay the cost thereof.

This ordinance provides legal authority to carry on the work, and under this plan the committee was assured that an ordinary tree may be provided, planted and maintained for five years at an average cost of about \$4 per tree, which will mean an assessment of about \$4 for an ordinary lot for the entire cost of the tree and maintenance for five years.

In addition to this new work proposed, the committee reported that more or less street tree planting has been done on practically every street in the city, and while many of these trees have matured and acquired a creditable growth, many others have been absolutely neglected, so that most of our city streets, especially in the older parts of the city, provide a heterogeneous and not at all creditable appearance from the standpoint of street tree ornamentation. It is obvious that some plan must be worked out for the care of this older planting and it appears clearly, also, that it would be hardly fair or practicable to attempt to care for this condition under the assessment plan. Much consideration was given to this phase of the problem, and the following general conclusions were arrived at by the committee:

"It goes without saying that the care and maintenance of the street trees—in a word, the city forestation—naturally belongs to the park department, which is the only department of the city that is thoroughly equipped to do this work, in short, that understands the job. And we are assured that, given proper financial support, the park department will be very glad to assume the obligation of caring for the street tree planting on a comprehensive scale.

"The department maintains a nursery where all varieties of trees required may be propagated at cost, and at such times and in such quantities as may be desired. The employees of the Park Department are trained in the care and cultivation of trees, and the park department has a most efficient superintendent who is himself a trained forester, so that without any unnecessary expense for supervision, and without the creation of a new salaried office, through an existing organization, with the co-operation of the department the city is in a position to proceed with the intelligent care of its shade trees if the city council gives the word."

The committee recommended an annual appropriation by the council of a fund sufficient to prosecute the work in each district of cultivating, pruning and maintaining existing trees, planting young trees in unplanted spaces and removing undesirable specimens. A method was suggested by the committee, whereby this necessary fund could be raised and should be raised without its constituting an additional burden on tax-payers: Ordinance No. 27,364, Section 2, passed April 15, 1913, provides that the city shall receive 10 cents for each and every wagon load of gravel taken out of the river bed, but for some reason this ordinance is a dead-letter and is not enforced. This ordinance, if enforced as it should be, would provide a revenue of approximately \$20,000 per year to the city from this particular source.

In a subsequent report the committee took great pleasure in reporting substantial progress, in that the welfare and financial committees of the council having this matter in charge gave the committee a satisfactory hearing and passed resolutions which will accomplish the desired object.

The first referred to the tree-planting fund and is to be made operative at once, in the hands of the park department.

A second motion was passed, authorizing the appointment of a committee to consider the ordinance No. 27,364 providing for the receiving by the city of 10 cents for each and every wagon load of gravel taken

from the river bed, reporting as to the causes for the non-enforcement of said ordinance and the feasibility of making it immediately operative.

The committee was much gratified at the interest taken by the members of the council, and especially pleased at the reception given the report. Not only was the subject accorded the attention it deserves, but the chairman of the council praised the work of the committee in preparing a report showing so much preparation and he did not hesitate to compliment the City Club for its zeal and well-directed efforts in a line of work so vital to the growth and beauty of the city.



Movies in Parks.—The Boston Park management now includes moving picture shows for adults, as well as children. Health, educational and general motion pictures with explanatory stereopticon slides and music are given, as well as the current news of the world. Special new picture of Boston resources for recreation and civic progress are also included. The committee in charge (Seymour Stone, chairman) represents the following organizations: Boston society for relief and control of tuberculosis, Boston Y. M. C. A., Boston Y. M. C. U., Women's municipal league, Massachusetts child labor committee, Immigration department of State Y. M. C. A., Milk and baby hygiene association, District nursing association, Massachusetts society for prevention of cruelty to animals, Poster campaign of associated charities.

So far as the committee has been able to learn, the undertaking has not been tried in any other city in the United States, Toledo's attempt to establish a municipal motion picture theatre having been frustrated by the courts. Motion pictures of special propaganda character have been used in the parks of Chicago and Providence, playgrounds of Newark and New York and elsewhere, but the Boston plan is more extensive than any of these, providing balanced and varied programs in which the special propaganda is but a part. So far, the

committee asserts, the project has been a complete success.

The programs given in Boston parks are varied frequently and the same program is not given twice in one place. Motion pictures of known merit are used as well as current weekly news and humorous films. Music in some form accompanies each entertainment. A special feature to be introduced will be pictures showing the resources of the city for recreation, civic progress and good living.



An Anti-Fly Campaign.—Salt Lake City is making as an incident of a general "clean town" movement an anti-fly campaign. In fact the latter seems to furnish the impetus for the larger movement, for in the report from Salt Lake City, in speaking of the movement, the account reads "It is conducted hand in hand with the anti-fly campaign." The method adopted by Salt Lake City is similar to one that was first put into effect some years ago by Prof. C. F. Hodge at Worcester, Mass., where he was instrumental in having prizes offered to the school children for the largest number of flies they might turn in. Salt Lake City has been offering a bounty of 10 cents per hundred for all flies turned in to the board of health before June 15. After that date the bounty was changed from 10 cents per hundred to 15 cents per pint. Commenting on this plan, Professor Hodge admits that after the first year's experience it was his conviction that the wrong kind of offer had been made, for it was discovered that the children, keen to win the prizes, had gone into a systematic business of breeding flies and the quantities they turned in at Worcester were enormous. Speaking at the convention of the American Civic Association of that contest Professor Hodge said he thought another year prizes ought to be offered for the smallest number of flies that could be discovered, although he expressed a doubt as to just how to arrive at that kind of a competition. But with the fly as the "propagating" agency for a large and important clean town movement, Salt Lake City has been con-

ducting an important work, which has been systematically carried out by organizing clean-town clubs in every school district, subdividing these clubs into squads and making each squad responsible for a block in each school district.

✱

Size of Los Angeles.—According to figures compiled by J. D. Burks, efficiency director, the recent annexation of Palms and San Fernando makes Los Angeles, in point of area, the second city in the United States. The total area of the city is now 279 square miles, while the area of New York City is 286 square miles. These figures exclude the water area, which is sometimes included in the statements of municipal dimensions. If the water areas in other cities with which Los Angeles stands comparison were included, however, Los Angeles would still retain second place.

✱

City Mother's Bureau.¹—Since the establishment of the Los Angeles Bureau six months ago, it has handled, aside from numerous minor ones, 250 cases. It filed only two juvenile petitions for delinquency and two complaints in domestic troubles and child desertion. All other cases were adjusted out of court, and A reporting occasionally as doing finely. are recent report says: "We have passed several ordinances abating nuisances, such as putting lights in the jitneys; the principals and vice-principals of the schools are co-operating, and meet with us once a month, the results of which are marvelous; we have established municipal dances, one every two weeks, which have been successful. One thing is greatly needed, an industrial school for these girls and boys, which we hope in time to accomplish."

✱

The Seventh National Conference on City Planning² was held at Detroit, June 7-9. A delegation, seventeen strong, appeared at the conference from the chamber of commerce in Toledo. They were sent over because the chamber of

commerce there, which has just taken a new lease of life, wanted to see how it could help in local city planning work. Delegates from fifteen different national organizations were there to see how the bodies which they represented could co-operate to advance city planning education. There were present, too, a number of real estate men from various parts of the country, attracted because they felt that a knowledge of city planning would help them in laying out their properties.

This conference differed from previous ones in that the consideration of two important problems was extended over two sessions each. The first of these two special subjects was entitled, "The best methods of land sub-division." Last year the conference held that this subject was of such vital importance that they appointed a committee to conduct a study of it throughout the year. This year's sessions on the subject were in the nature of a preliminary report and discussion of this subcommittee, the report being presented by E. P. Goodrich of New York. Some twenty-five to thirty cities had responded to the questionnaire sent out by the committee, and, while no final conclusions were reached, distinct progress was made in determining those points on which the experience of most cities showed agreement. For example, it was held that the width of lots as originally laid down on the map had very little effect on the character or intensity of the use of the property. With a view to future convertibility, a depth of much less than 80 to 100 feet was believed inadvisable, and on the other hand that it was rarely desirable to have a greater depth than 150 feet; furthermore, that there might well be considerable difference in the width of the streets, depending on the intensity of their use, provided that the building lines of the narrower streets should be so controlled as to make it possible at some future time to widen the street at no great expense to the city. It was also felt that, in general, it is almost impossible to obtain a satisfactory development of a sub-division without adequate restrictions

¹ See vol. iv, p. 124.

² From George B. Ford, New York.

imposed by covenant in the deed, or if possible, by ordinance or law.

The other major topic for discussion was "The constitution and powers of a city planning authority." Dr. Robert H. Whitten, of New York, reported for the committee in charge of investigating the subject. Here again the paper summarized the replies to an elaborate questionnaire sent generally to city planning authorities throughout the country. It was felt in general that city planning authorities had better be advisory to the city legislative body, and that it was questionable whether it was desirable that they should have any veto power. It was felt that, except in the smaller communities, the art commission and the city planning authority should be quite distinct from one another. It was felt, too, that, except in the smaller cities, the city planning commission should not be composed, as a rule, of city officials.

In discussing the paper, Frank B. Williams, of New York, showed how arbitrarily the city planning authorities controlled the development and use of private property in the various cities of Europe, particularly in Germany, and what notable results were achieved by such a method. Thomas Adams, of Canada, felt that it was useless to try to do very much in the way of actual city planning until the community had a legal right to conduct city planning work as it should be conducted. George B. Ford, of New York, felt that the conferences had been leaning too overwhelmingly to the practical side, and that it was high time to emphasize again the importance of the aesthetic side. To that end he showed a number of slides illustrating the principles which underly attractiveness and good taste in civic architecture, showing that good taste need rarely mean any greater expense than poor taste.

*

The *American City* is now published in two editions, the subscription being the

same for each edition. The same number of pages of reading matter is found in each. In the regular edition the first 32 pages comprise articles of interest primarily to the larger municipalities; while in the remaining pages it is the aim to include articles of interest to municipalities of any size. In the "Town and Country" edition the first 32 pages are of value primarily to municipal officials or civic workers in places of less than five thousand inhabitants, or to those interested in county government and county improvements. The remaining pages are identical with the corresponding pages of the regular edition; and all of the advertising pages appear in both editions.

*

The *Citizen* is the title of a new monthly magazine published by the Citizens' League of Indiana to promote the movement for a new constitution for Indiana.

*

Winton L. Miller, formerly newspaper reporter, member of the staff of the Dayton bureau of municipal research, and recently secretary to City Manager Waite, has been named as city manager of St. Augustine, Florida. He assumed his new duties immediately after his appointment.

*

John H. Humphreys, secretary of the Proportional representation society of London, expects to visit the United States and Canada this autumn. He will probably arrive in San Francisco in October. His address will be in care of C. G. Hoag, Haverford, Pa.

*

Monsieur L. Dupriez has been teaching at Harvard since last February. In the spring he gave four public lectures there on the workings of proportional representation in European countries. This autumn he will give a regular college course on the subject.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

I. BOOK REVIEWS

PITMAN'S MUNICIPAL OFFICE ORGANISATION AND MANAGEMENT: A Comprehensive Manual of Information and Direction on Matters connected with the Work of Officials of Municipalities. Edited by William Bateson, A.C.A., F.S.A.A., Borough Treasurer for the County Borough of Blackpool. With contributions by experienced authorities on municipal work and practice. With about 250 diagrams and forms. London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, 1, Amen Corner, E. C. 25s. net.

This comprehensive compendium deals with the technique of municipal government, which has been developed to a much higher degree in Great Britain than in America. Some idea of its scope may be gathered from a brief summary of its leading articles. The editor deals with organization in general, office equipment, the finance department, old age pensions, and the national insurance acts; his colleague, A. S. Wright, deals with the town clerk's department; another colleague, F. Berry, the chief clerk in the public health department, treats of that important branch. Mr. Pringle, the chief constable of Blackpool, has written a treatise on the police department, including fire brigade, weights and measures and licenses; Percy Farnworth, borough treasurer of Bolton, has contributed the sections relating to cemeteries and burial grounds, baths and wash-houses, markets and fairs. W. Powell, chief librarian of Birmingham, gives expert information on his own subject. The section relating to gas undertakings is by E. Cooke, the accountant, and R. S. Hilton, secretary and manager; tramways by S. B. N. Marsh, of Birmingham; water-works, by E. J. Alban formerly of the Pontworridd and Rhondda joint

water board; housing and town planning by W. S. Body of Birmingham; education by J. E. Pickles, director of education, county borough of West Bromwich; and the sewage disposal department by J. D. Watson, engineer and manager to the Birmingham, Tame and Rea Drainage board. Indeed there is no branch of municipal administration which is not treated with distinction by a capable and experienced man. The book of course is primarily designed for the British administrator, but it will prove highly suggestive to the American as well, because it will show him how things are done in a community where municipal government is regarded as a science and where those who are responsible for its conduct regard their work in the light of a dignified, honorable and useful profession.

Some conception of the magnitude of local government in England and Wales may be gathered from the fact that the local revenues in them are received by no less than 25,403 local authorities, made up as follows:

County councils.....	62
Town councils.....	327
Metropolitan borough councils and the city corporation.....	29
Urban district councils...	818
Rural district councils...	666
Boards of guardians.....	653
Overseers of the poor...	14,554
Parish councils, water boards, rivers boards, harbor authorities, etc.	8,294
Total.....	25,403

Over £64,000,000 per annum is spent by the principal classes of rate-spending

authorities, supplemented by a sum of over £21,000,000 contributed by way of exchequer grants out of imperial funds.

American figures would, however, if properly tabulated, far exceed these, for our idea appears to be that the test of real democracy lies in the number of offices rather than in efficiency.

What the editor has to say on the subject of municipal trading is significant: Judging, says Mr. Bateson, by the financial results of the past, the control by municipalities of such monopolies as gas, electricity, tramways, markets, and water supply seems to furnish no good reason for fear as to the future. "The ratepayers of to-day owe a debt of gratitude to those who, a generation ago, by their foresight and good faith, established or acquired the municipal concerns which are now proving to be such increasingly valuable assets. Only a short time ago the cry was that municipal enterprise did not pay. Now the complaint is that it is paying too well; so much so that a demand is made for a reduction in the amount applied from these concerns to the relief of local rates in favor of the lessening of the charge for the supply of the commodities to the consumer."

To quote the editor still further: "To reflect upon what the municipality now does, or may do, for the community, is almost an inspiration. It controls the sanitary arrangements, looks after the physical well-being by means of gymnasia, baths and wash-houses, hospitals, parks, recreation grounds and open space; guides the culture of the mind and the education of the people by schools, libraries, art galleries, museums and historical buildings; makes pedestrian and vehicular traffic comfortable by good footpaths and roads; will restrain wrong-doing and makes right-doing easy by police supervision; protects property from fire; minimizes fraud by inspection of weights and measures; provides physical light, gas and electricity (those two commodities being also available for power for manufacturing purposes); affords a clean and wholesome water supply; makes locomotion convenient and expeditious by means of trams,

light railways and 'buses; builds houses for the artisan classes; supplies allotments, asylums and gaols; controls docks and harbors; sees that old people receive pensions; relieves distress; and in a host of ways helps to make the conditions of life more bearable and comfortable; and when life's work is finished it finds one a resting place in the cemetery."

It will be gathered from these quotations that Mr. Bateson is a thoroughgoing believer in the present British municipal policy, the leading ideal of which may be said to be that "of a joint stock or co-operative enterprise, in which every citizen is a shareholder, and of which the dividends are receivable in the improved health and the increase in the comfort and happiness of the community. The members of the council are the directors of this great business, and their fees consist in the confidence, the consideration and the gratitude of those amongst whom they live."

The whole volume is an inspiring one because of its completeness and because of the silent, but effective testimony it bears to the growth of the science of municipal government in the mother country.

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF.



READJUSTMENTS IN TAXATION. Philadelphia: The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. March, 1915.

This volume of the *Annals*, in charge of Dr. E. M. Patterson, is unusually informing, not merely because of the timeliness of the subjects discussed, but also because many of the contributions are by well-known authorities and by experts of wide experience in the administration of municipal affairs. In general the various contributions fall under four heads: (1) Introduction, (2) national taxation, (3) state problems and their solution, and (4) local taxation.

The introduction on newer tendencies in American taxation by Professor E. R. A. Seligman forms an excellent outline to the general thought of the volume. Indeed, it may be said that the other papers

are for the most part illustrations of the fundamental principles or tendencies of fiscal development pointed out by Professor Seligman. There are, according to this authority, four tendencies now visible in the United States. First, there is a tendency to replace personal taxes by real or specific taxes, and a counter movement from real to personal taxation. A second tendency is from local to general taxation on the administrative side, and again a counter tendency from the general to the local tax in the matter of proceeds. A third movement is from property as a basis of taxation to the yield of property of which the income tax is a good illustration. The fourth tendency aims to abandon the benefit theory of taxation and to adopt the theory of the ability to pay. And, finally, there is a tendency in modern taxation away from individual and toward social considerations. This accounts for progression or graduation in our income taxes and for the differentiation between earned and unearned increment as we find it abroad.

The lessons which the writer draws from these tendencies are that states should develop a centralized control over local revenues, that states themselves must gradually be subject to central control in taxation as they now are in interstate commerce, in the federal reserve board, and in the new trade commission; that state and local revenues should be separated through the principle of segregation of sources; that we must free ourselves from the attachment to the property tax and distinguish between personal tax and real or specific tax, and finally, that we must develop interstate comity in taxation.

M. L. Schiff, discussing some aspects of the income tax, favors this form of taxation but believes that the law could be much improved by lowering the exemptions, by abandoning the system of collection at the source and substituting the collection from the recipient and by clarifying the law so as to make it intelligible to the average person.

The general subject of state problems is introduced by an article on the relation

between federal and state taxation by Professor J. E. Boyle in which he urges the need of interstate comity and of federal action in taxation of interstate corporations. "Central Control of the Valuation of Taxable Subjects" by S. T. Howe, chairman of the Kansas tax commission, gives a good outline of the organization and results of tax commissions in thirty-two states.

Twelve papers are devoted to local taxation and include contributions from Messrs. T. S. Adams, Delos F. Wilcox, Scott Nearing, R. E. George, S. M. Harrison, Edward Polak, J. J. Murphy, J. J. Pastoriza, Allen Robinson, A. D. Bernard, Adam Shortt, and W. S. U'Ren. On the whole the volume is a valuable contribution to present methods and tendencies in taxation.

KARL F. GEISER.

Oberlin College.



PUBLIC UTILITIES—THEIR FAIR PRESENT VALUE AND RETURN. By Hammond V. Hayes, Ph.D. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company. \$2.

This work contains a discussion of various theories of valuation and rate return for public utilities. It is primarily not a description of the practices of courts and commissions but an explanation of the principles which in Mr. Hayes' opinion should be adopted.

The author's viewpoint is, generally speaking, that the fair value for rate-making purposes is actual cost. Instead of reproductive, replacement, or present value, commonly used by courts and commissions he urges "actual cost." The proper valuation to be applied to new companies, established since the application of commission control, is "the investment made in good faith in the property required in the production of the service sold to the public. It might have greater value if sold, but so long as the property remains in public service its fair value for rates does not increase." Likewise, normally, it does not decrease, since any diminishing in its value is offset by proper reserves for renewals. Under the appli-

cation of the author's theory, the valuation is a fixed amount, future capital expenditures are merely added to it, so that at all times, the books of the company will show the fair value of the property. For old companies, which were in existence before the application of commission regulation, the value to be taken should be ascertained not from the books, since proper accounts may not exist, but by estimating the "actual cost new, less depreciation of the property in use." Therefore, the principle is the same in either case.

The author insists that the shareholders ought not to be permitted to profit by any enhancement in the value of their property, after the investment has been made. These theories of valuation, as is well known, are in conflict with nearly all the judicial decisions and the practice of the public service commissions. It is doubtful whether this volume will convince the reader that the court and commissions are wrong.

Attention is given to the question of surplus invested in the property. Under proper regulation of new companies there will be no "excess earnings," but in the case of surplus in property accumulated by the investment of surplus earnings prior to commission regulation, the stockholders should be permitted to profit, by including such surplus in the valuation.

It cannot be said that there is any contribution made to the theories of "Fair Rate of Return" in the chapter having this title. Rather the writer confines himself to a brief restatement of the familiar principles. He believes that the opposition to commission control upon the part of investors is accounted for largely by their fear that charges may be reduced, but not increased, when necessary. The public must realize that, under the new method of control, readjustments, sometimes upwards, in rate schedules must take place. For under the old method prior to regulation, the companies usually charged a rate sufficiently high to provide for an ample surplus with which to meet contingencies, whereas under the new method of rate regulation this is impossible.

There are commendable chapters upon replacement cost, original cost, and going value, containing well stated descriptions of each of these theories of valuation. But one would naturally expect these chapters to precede, rather than to follow, the chapters containing the author's own idea of "fair present value" and "fair rate of return." There is also a valuable chapter on depreciation, in which the various methods of computing depreciation and the advantages of each are explained. These latter chapters are perhaps the most valuable portion of the volume.

RALPH E. HEILMAN.

University of Illinois.

✱

THE VALIDITY OF RATE REGULATIONS: State and Federal. By Robert P. Reeder. Philadelphia: T. and J. W. Johnson Co. \$5.

The author tells us that "This book deals with the principles of constitutional law which are involved in rate regulation." It contains authoritative discussions on the commerce clause, the distribution of governmental powers, the equal protection provision, just compensation, the impairment of contracts, preferences to ports, and limitations upon federal judicial power. The footnotes are extensive and complete, and include references to the leading cases on every point discussed, and also to the leading authorities and references to books and articles. There is a complete table of cases, and a good index. As a rule, the author briefs his cases lucidly with good judgment, and states incisively the exact points settled in the cases at issue.

As is indicated by the contents included above, the book is very comprehensive and inclusive in its treatment. Thus, a number of pages are taken up with the restatement of the principles as to questions which may be brought before a court, and as to the principles that have been followed in determining whether statutes were unconstitutional. Thirty pages are given to the discussion of valuation, in which discussion the author mistakenly

assumes that the test which the public service commissions have adopted and will adopt is reproduction-cost-new. The discussion of constitutional restraints is more or less superficial. The most valuable contribution made to the book is in the discussion of the due process clauses, the equal protection provision, and the impairment of contracts. The book as a whole is an excellent hand book and ready reference for all those who are interested in rate regulation, and particularly railway rates.

CLYDE LYNDON KING.

University of Pennsylvania.



VALUATION OF PUBLIC SERVICE CORPORATIONS. Supplement, 1914. By Robert H. Whitten.

This Supplement contains the numerous court and commission decisions since the spring of 1912, the date of the issuance of the author's "Valuation of Public Service Corporations," which has easily taken the lead as the authoritative reference work on principles and methods used and applied in valuing public utilities. The Supplement follows the original work in containing complete and authoritative references to all the leading cases bearing on the points at issue. It likewise is significant because it presents the author's own point of view. Taken together, these two volumes, completely indexed as they are in the Supplement, comprise the most valuable and ready reference on valuation principles and methods available to any student.

C. L. K.



MUNICIPAL FREEDOM. By Oswald Ryan. With an Introduction by A. Lawrence Lowell. Doubleday, Page & Company. 1915. Pp. 233.

Mr. Ryan's volume is one of a new series of little books designed to present to a wide reading public a number of problems of vital interest in America today. It is not a history or a description of commission government, but an inquiry

into the spirit and methods of that system with a view to discovering whether or not it is a permanent device full of promise for the future (p. 5). Although the author makes no concealment of his enthusiasm for the subject of his book, he is under no delusions about "schemes" as such. Indeed, he says, on page 72, that the conditions of American politics in older days would doubtless have rendered any system partly ineffective, because the energies of the people were devoted to national politics and national interests rather than to municipal administration. The new schemes of city administration accompany, as well as help to develop, genuine public concern about efficient and responsible government.

Mr. Ryan devotes nearly one third of his book to a simple description of commission government and to its operation in Haverhill and Salt Lake City. Two chapters deal with preferential voting, and home rule. In chapter vii, non-partisan municipal politics is examined and the conclusion is reached that "despite the sweeping charter provisions against the party system, divisions of the voters on questions of municipal policy will persist," a wise caution to those who think that we are now entering upon an era of everlasting good feeling. In about thirty pages, 79-106, Mr. Ryan considers the administrative features of commission government and the city manager plan and expresses his belief that the latter scheme at last offers to the voters of the cities the longed-for expert service under proper political control.

All in all, Mr. Ryan's book is admirably adapted to the general public to which it is directed. The citizen who has given little or no attention to the recent developments in city government will find here a simple description of the commission and city manager plans and will also find here revealed the spirit and purpose of those who are most earnestly supporting these new devices of city government.

The value of the volume is enhanced by a short introduction by President Lowell who, while tempering somewhat the high hopes of the young author, concludes that

"of all the plans yet tried, the one advocated in this book, that of government by a commission conducting the city departments by means of a corps of expert administrators, is the most promising."

CHARLES A. BEARD.

Columbia University.



JESUS AND POLITICS: An Essay towards an Ideal. By Harold B. Shephard, M. A. With an Introduction by Vida D. Scudder. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$1, net.

This little essay analyzes, with refreshing clearness and penetrating insight, the questionings and doubts, and the hopes and visions of multitudes of earnest people, for whom the turmoil of this hour of conflict is a call to think soberly of what life means. Mr. Shephard asserts with perfect truth that what he discusses is "not some private madness of my own but a collection of things which are 'in the air.'"

His thought is not new, for much that has been written recently is along similar lines, but the restraint and beauty of his style, and the sanity of his treatment cannot fail to make an impression upon minds that have been closed perhaps to other voices. His point is that the most conscientious Christian finds himself barred from fulfilling the commands of Christ so long as he tries to fulfill them by himself; the successful effort must be a common effort. "Politics" is used here in the large sense of community activity for the common good, and in that sense the Christian has the most imperative duty to engage in politics. To the conventional objection that the church and the pulpit do more harm than good by political entanglements, the answer is that this is because association has been too often on the level of self-seeking and self-assertion, or at best, in the temper of legalism, so that so far from really representing Jesus Christ, they betrayed Him. Not so does this author understand the Christian's duty of political action. Rather, "he is led to political duty in the knowledge that it is all not so much a matter of his own gain, but that the spirit

of Jesus comes as a social salvation, not of one nor a few, but of society as a whole." Only political action, he contends, "can set up the common wealth which will take away the disabilities that make poverty unholy now, and establish mercy in business and neighbor-love. The Christian has to go down with his ideal into the political fight."

If the objection be raised that all this is theoretical and utopian, the answer is made, with convincing demonstration, that this very thing is now going on before our eyes!

Mr. Shephard's brief chapters deserve to be widely read. Christians will learn from them what their Christianity means, and politicians, what is the true purpose of politics; and all of us will catch in them an enlightening glimpse of a philosophy of life full of hope and love.

GEORGE LYNDE RICHARDSON.

Philadelphia.



THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT. By Benjamin Parke De Witt. The Macmillan Company. 1915. xii, 376 pp. \$1.50.

Mr. De Witt's book is expository rather than controversial. No doubt he is in general sympathy with the movement which he describes, but he takes no narrow partisan view of his theme. He regards the progressive ideal as one which good and wise men and women should cherish, but he does not attempt to limit it to the confines of any single party organization. He seeks rather to impress the reader with the merits of the cause, and yet he is primarily concerned with imparting information as to its meaning in terms of political and economic proposals.

The first part of the volume is historical in character—a record of the development of "progressive" ideas in the Democratic, Republican, Progressive, and Socialist parties. The second part treats of the national aspects of the progressive program: control of corporations, direct election of senators, preferential primaries, judicial control, the gateway amendment, and such social legislation as falls within the limits of federal jurisdiction. The

third part is devoted to the application of the progressive idea to state government, that is to direct government in all its forms and to remedial social legislation.

That part of the volume which will be of particular interest to the readers of this review is, naturally, embraced in the chapters which deal with home rule, commission and city manager government, efficiency methods, and the newer functions of city government. All these recent tendencies, in the opinion of the author, reveal the presence of a new ideal in city politics, a determination of the people that the city shall be a clean, healthful, safe, and beautiful place in which to dwell—a determination that represents no temporary revulsion against "bad government," but a profound and abiding revolution in American civic standards.

The service which Mr. De Witt has rendered is not in unearthing new and recondite facts relative to the progressive movement or in restating its philosophy in more striking terminology than that of other writers on the subject, but in presenting a balanced and systematic account of the whole matter, which can be found nowhere else. The style is clear, and the facts are consistently marshalled. As a guide to the law, gospel, and practice of progressivism, the book will find a place in citizen's library of politics—no matter what his personal views.

CHARLES A. BEARD.

Columbia University.



WOMAN'S WORK IN MUNICIPALITIES.

By Mary Ritter Beard. National Municipal League Series. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1915. \$1.50.

Mrs. Beard's plan in writing this book was to give a unified and comprehensive account of the part women have taken in the work of social and civic improvement in the cities of the United States. It is gratifying to know that she found it impossible to do this in a single volume and has had, therefore, to be content to make

what is here given merely illustrative of the extent to which women have initiated movements for the extension and improvement of the public schools; for better protection of the public health; for more general and better recreation; for the control of the social evil; for better organization in the field of social service; and for political reform.

So far as possible, quotations from the women who are themselves doing the work described are used; so that the volume is in a sense a source book on this subject.

The two purposes which Mrs. Beard had in describing "Woman's Work in Municipalities" were (1) that what is being done may be an impetus to the women to do more and better work for improved city conditions; (2) that any one who still doubts women's interest and ability to help along these lines may be convinced of his error. Her marshalling of illustrations of what women in every part of the country are doing should accomplish both of these results.

The author would be the first to say that she hoped that this book would be the last as well as the first of its kind. When women are given the right, through suffrage, to work directly for better social and civic conditions, it will be even more difficult than at present, to say what has been the contribution of the women to the solution of city problems without writing our whole social and political history.

Women who have been active in civic work will be relieved when they will not be asked to stop and prove that because they are women they are not devoid of a sense of responsibility for community conditions and are not without the ability to help in determining along what lines the community life should develop. Then they will be able to devote their entire time to getting things done and will be asked to stop only for critical study as to whether any plan which is offered by man or woman is the best that can be devised for the conditions that must be met.

GRACE ABBOTT.

Hull House, Chicago.

AMERICAN SEWERAGE PRACTICE. By Leonard Metcalf and Harrison P. Eddy. New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co. Vol. I. Design of Sewers. Pp. 757; 328 illustrations. \$5, net. Vol. II. Construction of Sewers. Pp. 574; 181 illustrations. \$4, net.

Without question this is the most important treatise on sewerage ever published in this country. Besides the wide experience of the authors, the book embodies several years of research, correspondence and observation in order to secure the best theory and practice of others.

As may be surmised, the treatise is primarily for engineers and engineering students rather than for laymen. The first two chapters, however, are of general interest. Here the authors review the history of sewerage systems in Europe and the United States and add touches of human interest in their mention of early American engineers engaged in sewerage work. Here also is given an idea of the relation between topography and sewers and sewage disposal. Elsewhere topics of general interest are touched upon, such as the discussion of the various factors affecting the volume of sewage to be provided for, the importance of careful inspection of materials and labor entering into construction and the failure of the general public and of far too many city officials to appreciate the importance of constant watchfulness to ensure the proper upkeep and operation of sewerage systems.

Obviously, Volume II, on construction, would be more useful to most laymen than Volume I, on design. The final volume, on sewage disposal, promises to be more useful still to the layman. It is expected that Volume III will soon be ready.

M. N. BAKER.

✱

LEGAL PRINCIPLES OF PUBLIC HEALTH ADMINISTRATION. By H. B. Hemenway, M.D. Chicago: T. H. Flood & Co. 900 pp. \$7.50.

Community health as a public function is a novel institution, scarcely adult, as

Prof. John H. Wigmore points out in his suggestive introduction to this volume. "In a time within my memory, the only law that one heard of for public health was the quarantine rule that ships coming up the bay from a plague-rumored Oriental port must lie at anchor for forty days, detaining all their passengers and crew on board. It is modern science that has vastly enlarged the scope of modern law. We have found that the scope of measure necessary for common defense calls for this enlargement of function."

Moreover it is a modern science, involving the proper adjustment of the principles and precedents of two learned professions and constantly enlarging its scope and purpose. Doctor Hemenway, who joins practical experience to academic training, approaches his task with a full appreciation of its importance and difficulties and of the necessities of interpreting each science in a way to be understood by the other. Strictly speaking, it is neither a law book, nor a medical treatise, but partakes of both. It has a value not only for the practitioners of law and medicine, but for the general student of municipal life and health.

✱

HYGIENE FOR THE WORKER. By William H. Tolman, Ph.D., and Adelaide Wood Guthrie. (Crampton's Hygiene Series, C. Ward Crampton, M.D., General Editor.) New York: American Book Co.

The "worker" for whom this book was primarily intended appears to have been the youth of either sex entering upon or recently entered into industrial life. Except that it is harder to teach an old dog new tricks the volume is equally valuable for older workers. These conclusions are drawn from the text. The "Editor's Note" states that the book is designed for regular and special school use. From either viewpoint, the volume is sane and useful. It contains much "safety" teaching. The book was published in 1912 but is still up to date.

THE WORLD'S SOCIAL EVIL. By William Burgess. Foreword by Graham Taylor. Chicago: Saul Brothers. 1914.

One of the most hopeful signs in the war on vice is the fact of publicity. The subject is no longer protected by the "conspiracy of silence." The campaign is now being conducted in the open. For the most part, however, the struggle against this hydra-headed evil has been conducted locally and by special groups. It has lacked co-ordination. Each group engaged in aggressive effort has acted independently in its desire to secure specific results and in a degree has either overlooked, or has been in ignorance of the wider movement of which it is a part. The literature on the subject has in the main partaken of this fragmentary character. Of late, larger studies have been undertaken and specific "vice reports" have been supplemented by more general works. To the latter type belongs this present work. The author has viewed the problem as a world problem and has sought to present its wider aspects. Under such general titles as the history of regulation, the wrongs of the legalized system, the economic question, commerce and science, and the war and its weapons, he has sought to bring together in usable form the information which will serve to create a wider outlook. Current movements can be valued in their relation to the movement as a whole. For those then who wish information on the pathology and therapeutics on the wider outlook in regard to segregation problem and on the economic and commercialized phases of the subject this book will be particularly useful.

J. P. LICHTENBERGER.

University of Pennsylvania.

✱

LETTERS WRITTEN FROM ENGLAND BY ARTHUR C. LUDINGTON. Published privately.

The family of the late Arthur C. Ludington are issuing to his friends a little volume consisting of letters which he wrote while resident in England from the opening of the war to his death in November, 1914.

The letters, so far as published, are devoted exclusively to the war and to his own intense interest therein as a dispassionate spectator who had a considerable acquaintance with public men and plenty of time and energy for intensive study of the subject. Although the letters were written with no thought of publication they have value as the product of a trained and earnest student with a thoroughly American and idealistic point of view.

Particular interest attaches to his references to the influence of Treitschke and Bernhardt among the intelligent German people with whom he came in contact during his stay in Heidelberg seven years before, and the astonishing and universal acceptance by intelligent Germans of the principles laid down by those apostles of militarism.

The final letters reveal Ludington's unfulfilled personal plans. Those who know of his activity in civic and social work in the United States will not be surprised to learn that he was unable to refrain from trying to be of service. He tried to enlist but was rejected on account of his citizenship, and finally arranged to become the driver of a Red Cross motor ambulance in northern France. He had purchased the kit required for this enterprise, including a pistol, the accidental discharge of which resulted in fatal injuries.

Friends of the author who have not received the little volume can obtain it from his brother, Charles H. Ludington, of Philadelphia.

✱

THE LAW AS A VOCATION. By Frederick J. Allen. Boston: The Vocation Bureau. \$1.

The Vocation Bureau of Boston is doing excellent work in investigating the conditions of various professions and trades and setting forth, carefully and impartially, the facts with regard to them in a way to be useful to young people who are considering the choice of their life work. In this book prepared by Mr. Allen, the "investigator of occupations" considers the nature and present-day conditions of the practice of the law, the

personal and educational entrance requirements, the dangers and disadvantages, the high demands, varied fields of service, the question of earnings and emoluments, in fact he considers whatever has a bearing upon the law as a vocation. The work is well done.



A MODEL HOUSING LAW. By Lawrence Veiller. New York: Survey Associates, Inc. \$2.

This book has far wider significance than its title suggests. It is surely "canon legislation" as the author himself suggests, and constitutes a working model on which others can build, but it is much more. It is a text-book on housing and a presentation in legal form of all the principles involved in the eradication of the slums, the protection of residence districts from the invasion of factories and other commercial buildings, and a measure for housing conditions in general.

As to method, the writer has classified the material under such headings as: erection of dwellings, alterations, maintenance, improvements, etc. Accompanying these legal forms are notes and suggestions which add greatly to their lucidity and adaptability. The book is the mature product of an expert and will prove of equal value to those who seek housing reform through social legislation and to the social worker interested in other forms of social service intimately connected with the housing problem.

In its present form the volume will be mainly of service in large cities or in smaller places which are near large cities. For small cities in less densely populated districts there is need for a much shorter housing law suited to the problems of such communities.

SOCIAL FORCES: A Topical Outline with Bibliographies. New Edition. Revised, Re-indexed and Enlarged. Portage, Wis.: Mrs. A. S. Quackenbush. 20 cents. 136 pp.

The education committee of the Wisconsin woman's suffrage association has done a good piece of work, a very much better piece than is usually done under such circumstances. Under each general topic there is a heading "Things to do" which is very practical. For instance, under "Municipal government," the workers are advised to learn from the present city administration the methods and achievements of their departments and to make careful study of plans for the reorganization of city administration.



SAMUEL BILLINGS CAPEN: HIS LIFE AND WORK. By Chauncey J. Hawkins. Boston: The Pilgrim Press. 1914. \$1.25.

Mr. Capen was one of the useful citizens of Boston. Successful as a business man, he was active in municipal affairs (serving as the first and only president of the Boston municipal league from 1894 to 1899), in international affairs, as an active worker for international arbitration through the Mohonk conferences and in church work, as president of the Congregational missionary society. In all of these positions he was intelligent, alert, aggressive, kindly and effective. Dr. Hawkins has naturally dwelt more especially on Mr. Capen's religious activities, but he has done full justice to those qualities of Mr. Capen which made him helpful and successful in all lines of altruistic endeavor. Mr. Capen was a vice president of the National Municipal League from 1894 to 1905.

II. BOOKS RECEIVED.

- AMERICAN SOCIETY OF MUNICIPAL IMPROVEMENTS. Proceedings of the 1914 Convention. Indianapolis: Charles Carroll Brown, Secretary. 1915.
- BANKRUPTING A GREAT CITY (THE STORY OF NEW YORK). By Henry H. Klein. Published by the Author, Tribune Building, New York City. 40 cents.
- COMMERCIAL ORGANIZATIONS IN GERMANY. By Archibald J. Wolfe. Washington: Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. 1914.
- COMMERCIAL ORGANIZATIONS IN SOUTHERN AND WESTERN CITIES. By George W. Doonan. Washington: Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. 1914.
- THE CORRECTIONAL SYSTEM OF SPRINGFIELD, ILL. By Zenas L. Potter. New York: Department of Surveys and Exhibits, Russell Sage Foundation. 25 cents.
- "EFFICIENCY FIRST." Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Conference of Mayors and Other City Officials of the State of New York. 1915. \$1.
- EXPERIENCES IN "EFFICIENCY." By Benjamin A. Franklin. New York: The Engineering Magazine Company. 1915.
- THE FUTURE OF US BOYS. Edited in the Words of Grown-Ups by a Friend. Boston: Babson's Statistical Organization. 1915.
- GROWTH OF AMERICAN STATE CONSTITUTIONS. From 1776 to the end of 1914. By James Quayle Dealey. Boston: Ginn & Company. \$1.40.
- LIVERPOOL EXHIBITION OF HOUSING AND TOWN PLANNING. Transactions of Conference, 1914. Edited by S. D. Adshead and Patrick Abercrombie. Liverpool: The University Press.
- A MANUAL FOR HEALTH OFFICERS. By J. Scott MacNutt, A.B., S.B. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc. \$3.
- THE NATURE AND PURPOSE OF THE MEASUREMENT OF SOCIAL PHENOMENA. By A. L. Bowley, Sc.D. London: P. S. King & Son, Ltd. 3s. 6d. net.
- PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MINNESOTA ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES. Edited by J. F. Ebersole. Published by the Academy, Minneapolis, Minn. \$2.
- PURCHASING. By C. S. Rindfoos, C.E. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. \$2.
- REFUSE DISPOSAL. By Ernest R. Matthews. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. \$2.
- SANITATION IN PANAMA. By William Crawford Gorgas. New York: D. Appleton & Company. \$2.

III. REVIEWS OF REPORTS

Vice Reports and Investigations.—*Wisconsin.* The report and recommendations of the Wisconsin Vice Committee, presented after fourteen months (and summarized in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iii, p. 317) in the opinion of James Bronson Reynolds, counsel for the American Social Hygiene Association, Inc., pointing out as it does the vicious relations of alcoholism to vice and the

attack of the Wisconsin brewers on members of the legislative commission making the report, preventing the re-election of four of them, is an important and significant fact, particularly in view of the declarations of brewers that they would not stand for any friendly relations on the part of their tradespeople with vice. Equally significant in his opinion is the report of the Richmond, Va., vice com-

mission, issued early in 1915. This is the first careful inquiry into the subject by any community south of the Mason and Dixon line. It explicitly and formally condemns segregation, a condition still existing in cities in the south more than in any other part of our country. "The state commission in the central west and the city commission in the upper south," Mr. Reynolds declares, "both emphasize the persistence and nation-wide character of the movement for the suppression of commercialized vice in this country."

The California legislature of 1913 passed a red-light abatement act, which, however, was held up under the referendum provisions of the California constitution. The invoking of the referendum made the social evil a sharp issue in that state. This law is by no means so drastic as similar acts in force in other states, but under its provisions property employed for purposes of prostitution is rendered insecure. With the law on the statute books, the exploiters of the social evil would gain nothing by going "into politics" to protect their illegal enterprises, for every citizen is furnished with the machinery to proceed against them. This particular group of exploiters, according to Franklin Hichborn, counted upon exceptional gains during the period of the Panama-Pacific Exposition, and so proceeded to invoke the referendum against it. The law was approved by a majority vote. However, it does not seem to have been effective in checking the dangers of the situation, for with reference to moral conditions, the American social hygiene association points out, as indicative of a general laxity, that there has been an increase in the number of questionable dance halls and a failure to utilize the law designed. Moreover, immediately upon its final approval it was attacked by a series of test suits. An appeal to a higher court is still pending. Meanwhile the law has not been used and seems likely to remain unused during part or all of the exposition period.

List of Cities and States which have had Vice Investigations. Atlanta, Georgia; Baton Rouge, Louisiana; Bay City, Mich.; Boston, Mass.; Baltimore, Md.; Cleve-

land, Ohio; Chicago, Ill.; Denver, Colorado; Elmira, New York; Grand Rapids, Michigan; Hartford, Connecticut; Honolulu, Hawaii; Kansas City, Mo.; Lancaster, Pa. (2 reports); Lafayette, Indiana; Little Rock, Ark.; Minneapolis, Minn.; Macon, Georgia; Newark, New Jersey; New York, N. Y.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Portland, Maine; Portland, Oregon; Pittsburgh, Pa.; Richmond, Virginia; Rockland County, New York; Schenectady, N. Y.; St. Louis, Missouri; Syracuse, New York; Shreveport, Louisiana; Massachusetts, Wisconsin.

Abolition of Brothels. The following is a partial list, prepared by the International reform bureau, of cities which have (mostly within the past two years) officially abandoned the policy of regulating or tolerating brothels: Portland, Me.; Manchester, N. H.; Portsmouth, N. H.; Boston, Springfield, Worcester, Newton, Chelsea, Malden, Everett, Cambridge, Brockton, Fall River, Somerville, Mass.; Providence, R. I.; Bridgeport, Hartford, New London, Conn.; Troy, Rochester, Syracuse, Yonkers, N. Y.; Norristown, Altoona, Erie, Pa.; Wilmington, Del.; Wheeling, W. Va.; Detroit, Rockford, Ill.; Milwaukee, Wis.; Des Moines, Davenport, Iowa; Omaha, S. Omaha, Lincoln, Neb.; Kansas City (Kans.), Wichita, Kans.; Minneapolis, St. Paul, Duluth, Minn.; Seattle, Wash., Portland, (Ore.), Los Angeles, Oakland, Cal.; Austin, Tex.; Atlanta, Ga.; Huntsville, Ala.; East St. Louis, Ill.; Dayton, O.; Cleveland, O.

New York. The Society of sanitary and moral prophylaxis of New York has made a sex education survey of certain churches and of the social settlements in New York City, inquiring as to how far the clergy believe in the need for sex education; how far they feel it the duty of the church to give it; and what results have been obtained where sex education work has been undertaken by church organizations. Some such work was known to be carried on in nearly all the social settlements; its results were studied, and the attitude of club leaders observed to ascertain how far it would be possible for them to carry on

the constructive work of sex ethics after the lecturer had given instruction in sex hygiene and related topics. The complete report appears in the society's *Journal*.

The Committee of Fourteen is doing a thoroughgoing work in suppressing notorious resorts and in seeking to place responsibility directly at the door of the property holders. Its annual reports are an epitome of effective work along these lines.

Cleveland. Mayor Newton D. Baker, on the initiative of the social betterment committee of the Federated churches of the city, has abolished the segregated district. A report entitled "Suppressing prostitution in Cleveland" has been published by the committee.

Dayton. There has been considerable curiosity as to how City Manager Waite would handle the social evil, so general a stumbling block of municipal administration. He proceeded cautiously, carefully studying the question and then outlined his policy to the ministerial association. He said that it was the aim of the administration to have a trained social worker make a thorough survey and to organize the system of women police officers. At the same time, and as rapidly as possible, the assignation houses would be closed up. These he designated the manufacturing plants of vice, and as infinitely more harmful than the places in the segregated district. His plan was to close the worst places first, the habitues being taken care of and prevented from continuing in business, and carefully watched by a follow-up system. The segregated district, the manager told the ministers, did not worry him nearly as much as the assignation houses.

From more than 100 inmates of houses of vice, at the beginning of 1914, there were 67 in August, and the number was constantly reduced. *The Dayton News* is authority for the statement that at one moment the situation in the conference looked stormy, when a question brought out the information that a few women with records as prostitutes were being admitted to the segregated district. Mr. Waite assured the preachers that no girls

without such records were being admitted, and that more were leaving the city than were being admitted as the reduction of about 30 per cent since January 1, 1914, indicated. Two or three clergymen were inclined to view the admission of any women as wholly wrong. Mr. Waite stoutly maintained, according to the same authority, that this was a necessary procedure in order to prevent the assignation house situation from becoming worse. The assignation houses closed, then the segregated district would be attacked, he declared.

The reason the red light district was not closed at once was that its suppression "would drive trade to the manufacturing plants which are scattered through the city." Manager Waite was emphatic that the city authorities are doing everything it can do to prevent the increase of assignation business. He believed the city's policy was right and he asked for the co-operation of the ministers, and their help in taking care of the girls who were being taken from houses of ill fame.

At the conclusion of the talk, and the rapid fire questions and answers, Dr. W. A. Hale summed up the administration's policy as Mr. Waite had outlined it, and said he thought that was about all the ministers could ask. To quote the *News* again, "There were many vigorous nods of assent, and though there were some who still did not approve of a policy which would permit a single new woman to come into the segregated district, the feeling seemed to be that the association, on the whole, approved the plans which had been disclosed. Rev. Mr. Corley, head of the Bayard league, and several others, spoke in favor of them."

In reply to a note of inquiry, written shortly after this talk, City Manager Waite wrote as follows: "Dayton's recognized 'segregated' district is small, and we have decided not to touch this situation until we have worked out a disposition for the women in it. We have employed a very efficient woman who has been in probation and settlement work in Chicago for a number of years, and she is working out an idea which will, we hope, prove effect-

ive, as merely closing up the district had not been in the cities which have tried that method. We intend to make a canvass of all the stores, shops, factories, and any other place where women are employed without any special training, and put the proposition up to them as we are facing it, and find out how many positions we can provide for the women who will be thrown out of employment by closing up the district. The women will then be taken in small groups and have the situation explained to them before any strenuous action is taken, and a position with a livable wage provided for all who are willing to make another start. Naturally those who will not accept this ultimatum will be sent out of town. We are hoping great things from this, but can tell you better how it actually works out a year from now.

"While we are working out this question for the segregated district, we are in the meantime quietly closing up the scattered rooming houses, as this feature has always presented the worse evil. We are not finding this an easy task, but when we get it cleared up we will feel that we have gone a long step in the right direction.

"We have placed an absolute ban on street solicitation, and already find the condition greatly improved. It has also been our task to keep young girls off the streets at nights.

"You realize that this is not a situation which can be cleared up in a month or a year and our beginnings are very small, but as nearly as we can figure out, we are pursuing the 'safe and sane' course."

By the close of the year 1914 Manager Waite had so far progressed with his policy that he was able to say under date of December 9, 1914:

"We have had absolutely no difficulty in enforcing the order closing the houses in the segregated district. We have not only closed the segregated district, but have closed the assignation houses. Some few of the women attempted to open in other districts, but our follow-up system worked admirably, and they were immediately located, watched, raided, and closed."

Later on he wrote (under date of March 22, 1915):

"Yours of March 15th and the attached concerning the memorandum which you wrote of the social evil in Dayton.

"We proceeded on the general lines which you cover and made a careful survey of everything reported as a house of assignation by having the vice squad watch the place until we could find whether it could or could not be proven a disorderly place. In the meantime we continued to hold the situation in the segregated district under control and reduced the number of girls to about fifty, none of whom were from Dayton.

"On December 1, I ordered all the houses in the segregated district as well as the assignation houses closed. Since that time the vice squad has been watching carefully on these places as well as the street-walking situation, all of which has been watched also by the police women who report direct to me. The result of the reports is that all of these places have been closed and there has not been any scattering of the trouble, and much to my surprise and gratification street-walking has been reduced."

Chicago. Carter H. Harrison, in the last year of his mayoralty, came out in a statement which was one of the most direct and unequivocal so far issued by an American mayor on the social evil. Unfortunately he did not accompany it by one indicating how he proposed to solve the problem. In other words, he fails to answer the difficult question, "After the elimination of segregation—what then?" Nevertheless, what the mayor has to say on the question of the evil influence of the segregation policy on the police needs to be pondered by the mayors and administrators generally of our cities:

"I have reached the conclusion finally," he said, "that my ideas of the vice question have been wrong. The investigation conducted by the Rockefeller foundation in Europe has converted me. I have no hesitancy in subscribing now to the general indictment of the segregation plan. Its worst feature to me is the corrupting

influence it exercises over the entire law enforcing arm of the government.

"Segregation means protected vice and you can't have protected vice without running the big risk of seeing your law-enforcing officials corrupted. The temptation seems to be great. The policeman on the beat goes to pieces very quickly after he once takes graft from the vice districts. Grafting off of these pitiable creatures is unspeakable, and at that it is but the first step in a career that sinks deeper in infamy very rapidly. The policeman who takes this kind of graft will take graft from pickpockets, thugs, gunmen and burglars.

"Chicago is through with the segregation of vice idea. Chicago, as I understand the situation, is ready to fight every kind of crime and make no exceptions. There is but one way to fight crime and that is to fight it honestly and unflinchingly and eternally."

A permanent morals commission was authorized to study the social evil, prepare recommendations concerning legislation, and act in an advisory capacity to the health and police departments. The health commissioner (Dr. John Dill Robinson) is an *ex officio* member of the commission; the other members of the commission are: Dr. Anna Dwyer, physician for the morals court; Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, Sinai Temple; Rev. W. J. M'Namee, St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church; John Koelling, United societies.

A report on the "Control of vice conditions in European cities," was presented to the council by Aldermen Nance and Geiger, who strongly protested against the city returning to its policy of allowing houses of ill fame to operate.

The Injunction Law. A comprehensive report on the injunction and abatement law against houses of "lewdness, assignation, assignation and prostitution" was prepared for the American social hygiene association, inc., by its associate counsel, Bascom Johnson, who is of the opinion that the law affords an effective weapon against scatteration, that it is a help rather than a hindrance to the elimination

of prostitution and that segregated instruments are impossible since its passage.

Growth of Prostitution. In an article in *Light*, which is the official organ of the World's purity federation, Dr. Albert E. Mowry, professor of venereal diseases in the Hospital college of medicine, Chicago, says under the heading "Increase in the social evil during the past twenty years": "I am going to give you a few observations for your consideration and cite you a few figures that are far from accurate, but still carry with them a meaning. These figures are not totals, but are meant to suggest increases or decreases in immorality in the United States. They are comparisons of conditions existing twenty years ago and the present time, and cover yearly digressions from the paths of virtue and include unmarried, married, widows and divorcees:

	Decreases	Increases
1. Betrayal.	5,000	
2. Poverty.	2,000	
3. Desire for jewelry, fine clothes, etc.		3,000
4. Automobiles and joy riding		5,000
5. Idleness.		2,000
6. Cigarettes.		1,000
7. Gambling.		1,000
8. Dance halls, drinking and suggestive songs.		12,000
9. Modern wearing apparel of women.		5,000
10. The business girl.		2,000
11. Disappointment in love ..		1,000
	7,000	32,000

He then takes each of the eleven items suggested and gives a brief summary of salient facts. The figures may appear extremely alarming, but a few general statements cleared the situation to some degree: "Twenty years ago the United States was poverty-stricken, so to speak. Soup houses were in great demand. Stylishly and expensively dressed women were few. Men with bank rolls were not in evidence. In other words, to sustain life was the theme supreme.

"Then follows a period of unprecedented prosperity, where, in 1895, there was one man with a yearly income of \$25,000 or more, in 1910 we find fifty men with such incomes. Other incomes in proportion made people dizzy spendthrifts."

In introducing this article the editor of *Light* said: "It is generally conceded that during the past two decades, although vice districts have been eliminated and agitation has been rife, there has been a marked increase in immorality. Had it not been for the agitation and the elimination of vice districts, the increase would have undoubtedly been much greater. Dr. Mowry has attempted to diagnose the difficulty and presents the results of his research. As a physician and surgeon of high standing and one who has come in direct contact with the results of vice, his testimony is most competent. The article should furnish food for very careful thought on the part of parents, teachers and social workers."

Causes of Immorality. The Chicago morals court has been collecting data as to causes of women going astray. It has collected the history of 518 women who have been brought before it with the following results: Under the primary cause heading is the following tabulation:

Cause	No. of Women
Promise of marriage.....	218
Insufficient wage.....	108
Lack of parental restraint.....	50
Drinking.....	84
Love of dress.....	36
Dance halls.....	10
Frequent saloons.....	5
Drugs.....	4
Parks.....	3
Total.....	518

Forty-eight gave insufficient income as the secondary cause, a like number gave lack of parental restraint, 247 gave drink, 14 drugs, 84 dress, 135 dance halls and 81 frequenting saloons.

The information shows that 247 were born in a city and 271 in the country.

Wages before Downfall. The earning power of the girls before they were classed as immoral is indicated by another tabulation. This shows the number of girls who started to work at \$1 or \$2 a week and the weekly wage they received when they quit work and turned to the underworld. The table is as follows:

Weekly Amount	First wages for	Last wages for
\$1	41	1
2	92	9
3	102	9
4	90	14
5	80	109
6	29	69
7	14	94
8	4	82
9	—	27
10	5	18
12	—	19
14	—	5
15 or more	13	14
For board	5	—
Never worked	48	48
Total.....	518	518

The activities of American social hygiene association, inc. (Dr. Charles W. Eliot, president) include:

I. The promotion of sex education in normal schools, colleges, and universities, with due regard to the moral and religious safeguards essential to the effectiveness of such instruction.

II. An aggressive warfare against prostitution in all its forms, especially against commercialized vice, the white slave traffic, and the discredited policy of segregation. The Association has made investigations into vice conditions in ten cities and two states and assisted with advice and co-operation in other city and state inquiries.

III. Co-operation with public health officers, physicians, and other public health agencies in a comprehensive campaign against venereal diseases.

IV. Active participation in campaigns for the enactment of such laws as have been approved by experience or have seemed wise, beneficial, and practical after a careful study of state and national legislation and of court decisions dealing with the problems with which the Association is concerned.

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF.

Recent Census Publications of Interest to Students of Municipal Affairs.

I. Assessed Valuation of Property and Amounts and Rates of Levy: 1860-1912. Washington, 1915. 176 pp.

II. County and Municipal Indebtedness: 1913, 1902, and 1890; and Sinking Fund Assets: 1913. Washington, 1915. 228 pp.

III. Taxation and Revenue Systems of State and Local Government. Washington, 1914. 275 pp.

IV. County Revenues, Expenditures, and Public Properties: 1913. Washington, 1915. 338 pp.

V. Municipal Revenues and Expenditures and Public Properties: 1913. Washington, 1915. 378 pp.

VI. Telephones and Telegraphs and Municipal Electric Fire-Alarm and Police-Patrol Signaling Systems: 1912. Washington, 1915. 208 pp.

VII. Central Electric Light and Power Stations and Street and Electric Railways: 1912. Washington, 1915. 440 pp.

The census bulletins here listed will form part of the larger volume on *Wealth, Debt and Taxation* to be issued in the near future. The full report will contain statistics relating to the taxes and debt of the national government, the forty-eight states, all counties and parishes within the states, all incorporated cities, towns, villages, etc. The present statistics are issued in advance as a small part of the data to be included in the larger report. These volumes form convenient and invaluable handbooks highly useful for comparative statistical studies, since the figures cover a period of fifty-three years—from 1860 to 1913. As usual the explanatory introductions are clear and informing. The classifications used by the census bureau in these volumes are substantially the same as those employed in several of the state statistical reports, notably in those of Massachusetts and Iowa. The latter, however, contain much additional data of local value.

The first of these bulletins presents the following data in nine tables: The total and per capita assessed valuation of (1) all property and (2) all real property and improvements subject to *ad valorem* taxation, likewise the total per capita levies of taxes thereon for each of the forty-eight states and counties for the census years, 1860-1912, inclusive; the assessed valua-

tion by states and counties of all property within certain specified civil divisions and the taxes levied thereon in 1912; and the total and per capita assessed valuation of all property within incorporated places having 2,500 population and over. An interesting fact is set forth in table 1, which shows that in 1912 the assessed valuation of all taxable property in the United States was \$69,452,936,104, an amount almost double that reported in 1902. The period from 1860 to 1870, on the other hand, showed a decrease of over 5 per cent. This is the only decennial period in which a decrease occurred. Particularly notable for the decade, 1902-1912, moreover, are the increases of property valuations in Kansas and in New York. The former increased by 656.4 per cent—an actual increase of \$2,383,736,661. New York, of course, had the largest absolute increase, \$5,161,865,981, or a little less than 100 per cent. Table 2 reveals an increase in assessed valuation of real property and improvements for the period, 1902-1912, or more than 30 per cent in excess of the increase for the entire period from 1860 to 1902. In part one of table 5, bearing on "per capita levies of *ad valorem* taxes," we find the highest per capita levy in 1912, or \$13.91 as compared with \$9.22 in 1902, an increase of 50.9 per cent for that period. The smallest per capita levy, \$4.33, reported in 1912 was from North Carolina. In part two of this table the noteworthy fact is shown that the average rate per \$100 of valuation, however, was less in 1912 than in 1902, namely, \$1.94 and \$2.05 respectively.

The bulletin on *County and Municipal Indebtedness: 1913, 1902 and 1890; and Sinking Fund Assets: 1913* presents its statistics in two sets of tables, one set including four tables of summaries to accompany the text, and the other comprising seven tables of general statistics. In table 1 of the text we find that the minor divisions having power to incur debt reported a net indebtedness of \$3,475,954,353 in 1913, as against \$1,630,069,610 in 1902—an increase of \$1,845,884,743, or 113.2 per cent. For the period 1890-1902, the increase amounted to \$704,080,007,

or 76 per cent. For the same decade the per capita net indebtedness increased from \$14.79 to \$20.74, or 40.2 per cent; for the period 1902-1913, the per capita increase was 72.7 per cent. While the states in the New England division show the smallest actual increase—\$68,874,282, or 30.4 per cent—the Pacific division shows the largest—\$220,446,527, or 406 per cent. The data in table 7, on sinking fund assets, are, as indicated in the title, for the year 1913 only. It is unfortunate that comparative figures for the earlier periods are not available.

The bulletin on *Taxation and Revenue Systems of State and Local Government* forms a digest of constitutional and statutory provisions relating to taxation in the different states for 1912. It is a revision of a similar digest for 1902. The following classification is used, so far as possible, in the compilations of the taxation and revenue laws:

- I. General description, constitutional provisions, and officers.
- II. Under each main division of state, county and municipal revenue come the following subdivisions:
 - A. General property tax, separated into three classes:
 1. Base
 2. Rate
 3. Collection
 - B. Poll tax
 - C. Inheritance tax
 - D. Corporation tax
 - E. Business tax, licenses, fees
 - F. Income tax
 - G., H., etc. Other revenues

The actual public receipts and expenditures for which the laws are presented in this bulletin will be found in the two bulletins on *County and Municipal Revenues, Expenditures and Public Properties: 1913*. These bulletins present the receipts and payments for a period of one year, from July 1, 1912, to June 30, 1913. The principal data presented will be consolidated with other material pertaining to the same general investigation and will be issued with the full report. The statistics in these bulletins are really classified

exhibits of the financial transactions of the counties and municipalities.

As an aid to the study of the data presented, brief definitions of the terms employed in the collection precede the tables. Owing to the defective classification in many of the reports received from county and municipal officers, it was impossible to distinguish one tax from another. In many counties and cities the returns included the poll tax along with the general property tax. The same is true of the expenditures. In a number of cases amounts which should appear under some definite classification are grouped with "general government" or with "miscellaneous and general expenditures." Many counties and cities failed to report expenses for certain departments, such as protection to person and property, schools, conservation of health, etc. Hence, the figures as a whole are slightly incomplete and until all county and municipal officials come to realize the necessity for accuracy in accounting methods, the Census authorities can do little to remedy this situation.

The two reports on electrical industries differ in some respects from the bureau's previous bulletins in this field, chiefly, however, in the fact that the general tables now follow a geographical rather than an alphabetical arrangement. The present reports cover, as a whole, five distinct surveys and resolve themselves into two separate groups: telephones, telegraphs and fire-alarm and police-patrol signal systems constitute one group; light and power stations and railways form the other. It is for this reason that the statistics are presented in two separate reports. The report on telephones is the third to be published by the census bureau; the two previous ones were issued in 1906 and 1910, respectively. The report on telegraphs is the fourth of its kind, the earlier ones covering the periods to 1879, 1902, and 1907. In the present report no financial statistics are given for companies or systems whose annual income is less than \$5,000. The figures for 1907 were adjusted to bring them into comparable form with those for 1912. The figures for 1902 were found impossible to readjust for

comparative purposes. The data are not wholly complete since in many cases the figures were based on estimates only, it being found that some companies did not even have books of account from which exact data could be obtained. It is to be hoped that the uniform system of accounting which became effective on January 1, 1913, under an act of congress, will aid the census bureau in its effort to achieve greater exactness in future.

The third part of this report deals with the municipal electric fire-alarm and police-patrol signaling systems and is the second report in this field to be issued by the census bureau. Its predecessor was published in 1904 and contained statistics for the year 1902. The data included are for practically all the systems operating during any part of the year 1912. The tables are preceded by a two-page history of the service throughout the United States. Especially notable in this report is the difference in location and method of controlling the police-patrol and fire-alarm signaling systems in the different cities. In later years the tendency has been to place these branches of service under the authority of some trained expert. Since the installation in Boston of the first fire-alarm telegraph in 1852, the number of such systems has grown to 1149, in 1912. The total number of electric fire-alarm and police-patrol signaling systems aggregates 1397. Of these, 71 are administered jointly by the police and fire departments. Abstracts of the important figures summarized in these reports appeared early in 1914 as bulletins no. 123 and no. 124 of the bureau.

The second report in this group, *Central Electric Light and Power Stations and Street and Electric Railways: 1912*, is divided into two parts. For the study of these statistics descriptive explanations are given in great detail, as in earlier reports on these industries. In addition to the eighteen chapters of text and 236 tables, these reports are supplemented by 43 illustrations of the various types of equipment. The present reports are the third relating to these industries to be issued by

the bureau; the earlier ones covered the years 1902 and 1907.

The report on central electric light and power stations considers 5221 combined stations operated during any part of the year 1912, and includes both commercial and municipal stations. Owing to the lack of a uniform system of accounts, it was found difficult to obtain the financial statistics on a uniform basis for all the stations. The National electric light association has devised a system of accounts which it is endeavoring to have adopted by all the stations. This schedule was followed in the present report and consequently gives us a much clearer and more satisfactory conspectus than that which appeared in the previous Census bulletins on this subject.

In tables 6, 8 and 9 we find that there were 1562 municipal stations in 1912 as against 1252 in 1907 and 815 in 1902, an increase of 310; while commercial stations for the same period show an increase of only 197. In table 10 we find that it is the cities of less than 5,000 population which are more likely to have municipal plants, since they contained an actual number of 1327 in 1912, or 85 per cent of all the municipal stations. This represents a gain of 656 over the number recorded in 1902, or 97.8 per cent.

The second part of this report, on street and electric railways, is also presented in two parts, namely, statistical and technical. The report covers 1260 street railways in the United States during the year 1912 and includes those operated by cable, gasoline and animal.

Electric railway companies operated 99.7 per cent of all the trackage covered by the Census. Out of a total of 943 companies only nine reported the use of animal power exclusively, and only one uses direct steam power. Table 10 shows that electricity has now superseded all other forms of motive power for street railways. The percentage of trackage operated by electric current increased from 15.5 per cent in 1890 to 99.4 per cent in 1912.

JOSEPH WRIGHT.

Some Recent State and Municipal Reports of a Statistical Nature.

I. Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics. *Seventh Annual Report on the Statistics of Municipal Finances, 1912-1913.* Boston, 1914. 301 pp.

II. Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics. *A Sketch of its History, Organization and Functions, 1869-1915, together with a list of its publications and illustrative charts,* by Charles F. Gettemy, director. Boston, 1915. 115 pp.

III. Iowa Department of Finance and Municipal Accounts. *Seventh Annual Report on the Statistics of Cities and Towns of Iowa, 1913-1914.* Des Moines, 1914. 272 pp.

IV. Indiana Department of Inspection and Supervision of Public Offices. *Fourth Annual Report.* Indianapolis, 1914. 268 pp.

V. Boston Finance Commission. *Reports and Communications.* Vol. x. Boston, 1915. 294 pp.

In the annual Massachusetts report on municipal statistics the system of tabulation is now well established and the present volume varies but slightly from its predecessors. In it, however, we are given for the first time a complete compilation of financial statistics for all of the cities and towns of the commonwealth, from its largest city (Boston), with a population of 686,092, to its smallest town (New Ashford), with a population of 92. No effort has ever been made in earlier reports to get data from the towns having a population of under 5,000. In many instances municipal officials failed as usual to file returns on the schedules supplied; but in each such case the bureau of statistics itself procured and classified the figures, although this was a costly procedure. The information in this report is of great value even though the figures are two years old.

The Massachusetts bureau has also issued, during the current year, a brief but instructive account of its own history, organization and work. The sketch covers the doings of nearly a half century and includes a list of all the publications issued by the bureau during that time.

The Iowa report covers 101 cities and 739 of the 758 incorporated towns of the state. The remaining 19 towns made reports to the department in such shape that their figures could not be properly tabulated. In 1913 the general assembly of Iowa amended the municipal accounting law so that the department may send examiners to delinquent cities and towns in order to secure any necessary data. By using this power it has been possible to get nearly all the desired information. The statistics in this report are wholly financial in character and are presented under fifteen different headings, seven for receipts and eight for payments. The classification is along the lines of the Massachusetts report; but, unlike the latter, the cities are listed according to population and the towns are given in alphabetical order. At the end of the report is a list of cities with, in each case, the names of the mayor, city clerk and treasurer. The general tables are preceded by brief summaries in totals and in per capita figures of receipts and payments. Some additional data relates to the nine commission-governed and the four general-manager cities of the state.

The Indiana report includes the finances of the 92 counties, 1016 townships, 478 civil cities and towns, 284 school cities and towns, and 21 state institutions for the fiscal years 1912-1913. As in previous reports the arrangement is by counties. This is a serious shortcoming. While making one step forward insofar as it was possible to collect data from nearly two thousand offices which had never previously been examined, the Indiana department still falls short of the census bureau, the Massachusetts and the Iowa reports, in the relative amount of classified data presented. The report confines itself almost entirely to amount of property owned, outstanding indebtedness, and to balances and disbursements. The tables are preceded by a short introduction giving a summary of the expenses of the department in the collection of data.

The report of the Boston finance commission, while not wholly of a statistical nature, ought to be mentioned. During

the fiscal year the commission has published 47 reports or communications to the mayor, the city council, and the legislature. It has also submitted to various governmental officials or bodies 34 unpublished reports, all of which, however, are now printed in this volume.

JOSEPH WRIGHT.¹

✱

Bureau of Public Welfare of Cook County.—The Bureau of Public Welfare of Cook County completed on May 1, 1915, one year's work. The following from "A Study of Cook County" suggests the purpose of the organization of the bureau:

The purpose of all the expenditure of money, strength and skill in the charity service is that the misery of the community may be lessened, the health of the public safe-guarded, the earning capacity of the able-bodied conserved. If the spirit of the law is observed, it means the gradual development of a charity service able to render the aid offered in such a constructive and intelligent manner as to make it really effectual and, so far as possible, preventive of needless poverty, sickness and wretchedness. Even with the service as it has developed, the football often of political parties, the plaything for political ends, there is in the ordinary performance of duty an enormous amount of simple, humble, unrecognized devotion and kindness. The attendants at the infirmary, the nurses in the hospital, the other members of staff, give not only the service for which they are paid, often most inadequately, but genuine human sympathy. But their duties often become a routine matter, and when hundreds are cared for, it is difficult to remember always that each has his own problem of misery and need. Often the patient is reluctant to confide in the attendant or nurse with whom he comes in frequent contact. The necessity of devising ways of discovery when these special services should be offered has, therefore, been apparent to many who are concerned with the more efficient administration of the county charity service.

Moreover, the same necessity which

¹ Librarian, Bureau for Research in Municipal Government, Harvard University.

has arisen in the county hospital and in the county court for supplementing the ordinary machinery of the institution by the creation of a social service department has been recognized in connection with Oak Forest, the jail and various institutions for children. Therefore, in 1914 the bureau of public welfare was created to render such services as these in connection with the institutions named.

The bureau as organized comprised a director and six welfare workers and clerical assistants. The welfare workers were detailed for work in the county jail, the infirmary and tuberculosis hospital at Oak Forest and the children's institutions.

At the expiration of the county's last fiscal year, December 1, 1914, the bureau submitted a report of its work comprising some 10,000 words and illustrated with five photographs, twenty-six statistical tables and eight charts.

A portion of this report showing the financial saving possible in this work was printed in the proceedings of the county board. This statement described the circumstances of each patient or ward removed from county support and showed that the service rendered these unfortunates at an expenditure of some \$5,000 had affected an annual saving of approximately \$14,000 to the county.

With the opening of the present fiscal year (December 1, 1914) the bureau was given independent existence, and its title changed to that of "Department of Public Welfare." However, its activities were curtailed by the removal of two of its welfare workers formerly detailed for work at the infirmary and tuberculosis hospital. A committee of citizens has since raised the money necessary to continue the Oak Forest work and the re-establishment of the work depends now upon acceptance by the county board of the free service offered.

The work conducted at the Oak Forest and the children's institutions was analogous to the reinvestigations which are required by law in New York state. The principle of this reinvestigation is sound, recognizing as it does the continual change in individual and family circumstances

and the recurring possibility of re-assimilating these dependents into the normal life of the community.

The work in the county jail has been practically an extending of the juvenile court idea to the juvenile adults (boys between 17 and 21 years of age) who have committed felonies and are held awaiting trial in the county jail.

The 1915 report of the Chicago bar association concludes a review of this service in the county jail with the statement:

This work is extremely important and the bar association should be interested in a further extension of it.

Every boy between the ages of 17 and 21 held in the county jail, is interviewed by a young woman from this department. The facts she gathers are made a basis of investigation and by the time the young man comes to trial, a volume of verified facts concerning what kind of a man he is, what actual work record he has, what his family is and what elements exist in his home which would aid him in living an honest life, is submitted to the judge.

The public welfare workers consider themselves neither as prosecutors nor defenders, but are engaged in a disinterested effort to present the facts and truth about these boys to the trial judge, and also to render any service possible to the boys and their families.

*

New York's New Code of Ordinances.

—The board of aldermen elected in the fusion campaign of 1913 undertook to reform its own organization and to develop some of its long neglected functions. A new codification of the general ordinances of the city, which has been issued, is one of the most important accomplishments of the first year and a half of its term. Although the charter of Greater New York makes it mandatory for the board to codify and publish annually the general ordinances of the city, this has not been done for ten years. Ordinances have been passed year after year without any effort being made to relate them to existing ordinances, or to repeal those superseded. The phraseology was often involved and unintelligible, so

that the general ordinances had become an enigma to laymen, lawyer, and magistrate. Attempted codifications in 1906 and 1908 failed. In 1909 the board of city magistrates urged the appointment of a commission to take up the work, but nothing was done until the fusion board took up the subject early in 1914.

A codification committee, assisted by Alexander C. MacNulty, assistant corporation counsel, presented a preliminary draft in the summer of 1914. In the discussion and criticism of this draft, the citizens' union took a prominent part. The new code was finally passed, and signed by the mayor on March 30, 1915.

The sanitary code, revised by the board of health, and also a revision of the park and dock codes, have been included in the general codification. The department of water supply, gas and electricity prepared an electric code, the first one which the city has had, although such a code has been needed for years. The fire department prepared a new explosives code, and these also were adopted by the board and included in the general code.

In form the new code has been moulded on the lines of the consolidated laws of the state. The material has all been classified by subjects instead of by departments, and divided into chapters arranged in alphabetical order.

Although published in the *City Record* of April 3, final publication of the code was delayed, in order to include all amendments up to July 6. This delay made it possible to incorporate a revision of the most important sections of the building code. This revision of the building code is, in itself, one of the notable achievements of the present board of aldermen. Repeated efforts during the last ten years to pass a new building code as a single ordinance failed because of the combined opposition of a variety of interests. The present board has achieved a successful result by adopting a plan of revision section by section. One article after another has been introduced as a separate ordinance.

By July 6, 1915, 16 out of the 31 articles within the jurisdiction of the board, had

been passed and approved by the mayor. The other fifteen, which are of less importance, are to be taken up in September. The sixteen articles which have been adopted, cover the following subjects: Materials, working stresses and loads, classification of buildings, restricted areas, partition fences and walls, excavations and foundations, masonry construction, wood construction, iron and steel construction, reinforced concrete construction, fireproof construction, motion picture theatres, plumbing and other systems of piping, altering, changing or demolishing buildings, unsafe buildings and collapsed structures, and enforcement of chapter.

The present fusion board of aldermen has been highly praised in a report issued by the aldermanic committee of the Citizens' union for its general efficiency and especially for its business-like and efficient work in giving the city, for the first time, an intelligible and up-to-date code of ordinances.

C. C. WILLIAMSON.

✱

Occupational Diseases and Health.—After reading the eighth report of the Henry Phipps institute for the study, treatment and prevention of tuberculosis on factors affecting the health of garment workers by H. R. M. Landis, M.D., director of the clinical and sociological departments and Janice S. Reed, research assistant in sociology,¹ one is inclined to doubt if there is such a thing as an occupational disease. Disease in occupations? Yes; but not because of peculiar requirements of the special occupation. The statement of a recent writer in the *American Journal of Public Health* is quoted to the effect that "industrial disease is a misleading term, used for convenience only, or through ignorance, to indicate certain pathological states, the result of insanitation in industry. Industry itself is never necessarily unwholesome. Industrial processes, it is true, are objectionable and crude, oftentimes, but bad industrial conditions are always remediable."

The points mentioned in the following

¹Published by the Henry Phipps institute, Philadelphia, 1915.

table certainly have no peculiar connection with garment-making factories. They might exist in any factory and they might be remedied in any factory.

422 Defects in Forty-Three Factories

Defects	No. of factories	No. of workers	Per cent of total workers
No fire escape provision	20	480	22.2
Serious fire risk.	41	2062	94.9
No fire drills.	39	1221	56.1
No emergency provisions.	30	1515	69.6
Insufficient lighting.	1	40	1.8
Bad ventilation.	19	800	36.8
Inadequate water supply.	4	147	7.5
No wash rooms.	39	1313	64.2
No dressing rooms.	34	771	35.5
No lunch rooms.	42	2013	97.3
Unsanitary toilets.	34	877	40.3
No separation for sexes' toilets.	8	130	6.4
Toilets, bad light and ventilation.	23	534	24.6
Toilets not clean.	34	705	32.5
Waste receptacles not furnished.	20	302	13.9
No cuspidors.	41	1123	51.6
Machinery dangerous.	2	80	3.6

Under the head of recommendations attention is called to the fact that the healthiest body of workers in the United States is probably to be found in the army and navy. The surgeon-general of the navy is quoted as saying in 1912, "We have been looking after occupational diseases in the navy, but entirely on the basis of military efficiency. There is no humanitarian factor in it." Very pertinently, the question is asked, "Why should not a manufacturer look after the health of his employes entirely on the basis of industrial efficiency?"

It is suggested, that an inquiry be made concerning the effects of industry on health, that, for the best results such an inquiry—industry by industry—should be undertaken by the state department of health conjointly with the state department of labor as an integral part of its administrative program. For the proper study of the effect of occupation on health each state should have an adequate body of field workers and trained physicians whose supervising authority in the interest of the entire community should be the

central health authority of the state—the State Board of Health.”

Nearly 1,000 workers were examined, 743 of them intensively, but ill health, when present, was thought to be the result of many factors not traceable to the garment-making trade. Unsanitary conditions in factories and homes bear an important relation to ill health. The writers of the report believe that more authoritative data must be secured to establish the relation between the hygiene of occupation and the hygiene of the community.

HARLEAN JAMES.

✱

Report of the Pittsburgh Art Commission.—The volume contains a brief account of the activities of local civic bodies previous to the creation of the art commission; the act of assembly creating the commission; an account of the commission's work since its appointment together with an explanation of its methods of considering submissions; a history of the agitation for the improvement of the Point district; and a copy of the E. H. Bennett report and drawings which the Commission has recommended to the city council for adoption.

A list of submissions to the commission is also included with a note of the action upon each. A brief note is made of the cost to the city of maintaining the commission, the members of which serve the city without pay, and it is stated that this cost amounts to about one eighth of one per cent of the cost of the structures acted upon by it.

However, it would appear that this statement does not represent the correct relation of the commission or its full value to the community inasmuch as it has undertaken a campaign of public education by illustrated lectures upon civic art—the value of which cannot be measured in dollars and cents nor even estimated until the future. This latter would seem to be a thankless undertaking, being a work which brings results only after much waiting.

Pittsburgh has reason to feel proud of the progress of the work of a commission

which is still young, and which compares favorably with that of the New York City art commission. That commission has been in existence for sixteen years and has attained an enviable place for itself in its own city and throughout the country. It may well be that the Pittsburgh commission will achieve a like result.

The report contains a number of interesting illustrations showing improvement in design under its direction. One view accompanies an indirect plea in the text for foresight by the city in protecting its public structures against private encroachment. An excellent frontispiece shows the accepted design for the Schenley memorial fountain.

✱

New York Police Bulletin.—*The Police Bulletin*, an eight-page monthly periodical established by Police Commissioner Woods of New York, to keep the members of the uniformed force informed and instructed, appears to fill admirably a long felt want in the realm of police education. Each issue contains as an editorial a well-written lecture on a subject of timely interest in the field of law enforcement. The remainder of the bulletin which is written in colloquial English with many quotations in the technical language used by policemen contains accounts of especially good police work, answers to questions, suggestions made by policemen, comments of the station house lawyer and news items of interest to the members of the policemen's families. It is edited by the commanding officer of the training school who is not only a policeman of extended practical experience, but also an exceptionally able teacher and a man of distinctly more than average literary ability.

✱

The Annual Report of New York Fire Department¹ for 1914 fulfills in every respect the requirements of an ideal municipal report. It is a readable and instructive pamphlet of 162 pages containing an interesting account of the principal activities of each bureau of the department for the information and education of the citizens. The illustrations

¹ From Dr. Leonhard Felix Fuld, New York.

possess very distinct educational value; the statistical tables are elucidated by readily understandable statistical charts and as each chapter of the report has been written by the bureau chief in direct charge of the matter covered by that section, the report is enriched by a variety of style and by expertness of exposition. The chapters relating to fire prevention and incendiarism are especially worthy of careful reading. Much of the material in these chapters is presented in the form of illustrations which serve to elucidate the text in the case of literate citizens and which make a direct and effective appeal to illiterate citizens.

*

Fire Prevention Lessons.—The New York fire department has issued a thirty-page illustrated pamphlet entitled "Fire Prevention Lessons" compiled by William B. Northrop, a special investigator of that department. Although objections may be made on pedagogical principles to the catechetical form in which this material is presented, the pamphlet covers the field of fire prevention for purposes of school work in a most thorough and interesting manner and the photographs in the book are especially instructive. Much practical benefit will undoubtedly result from the study of these lessons by the school children.

*

Outrement Signal System.—The City of Outrement, Quebec, Canada, has recently installed a police and fire signal system, which is unsurpassed by any American city. The fire alarm system consists of twenty-seven positive non-interfering succession keyless bell-less boxes and the police signal system consists of thirteen boxes equipped with wagon, duty and telephone signals and with a green flashlight and a large vibrating gong.

*

Annual Report of Bureau of Buildings.—The annual report of the bureau of buildings of the Borough of Manhattan for the year 1914 gives a clear exposition of the bureau's activities in increasing the efficiency of its employes in the perform-

ance of emergency work, in the legal prosecution of violations of the law, in the effective supervision of its inspection service, and in its rigorous prosecution of unlicensed plumbers. The report is profusely illustrated and its statistics are readily understandable by the layman. It is worthy of careful study by all who are professionally interested in public safety administration, and will be found of considerable interest by all who care for efficient municipal administration.

*

The Government of the City of New York.—This volume prepared by the New York State constitutional convention commission contains the addresses presented to a series of conferences held under the auspices of the Academy of political science of New York in co-operation with the Bureau of municipal research, the Institute of arts and sciences of Columbia university, and a citizens committee. The addresses are carefully prepared statements, usually by those in authority, and the discussions were participated in by those who were equipped by practical experience and academic knowledge to bring out the important points. It is a most helpful volume.

*

Municipal Year Book of the City of New York, 1915.—This volume, which was prepared under the direction of the city comptroller, Henry Bruere, by the Municipal reference library (Dr. C. C. Williamson, librarian), is one of the most interesting of year books and differs from nearly all others in the emphasis placed upon descriptive matters and in the relegation of statistics to a minor place. This particular volume together with the report on the government of the city of New York noted above, gives us a comprehensive survey of the truly enormous activities of New York City.

*

A Model Health Code for Texas Cities.—By Robert M. Jameson. Bulletin No. 23 of the University of Texas, April 20, 1915. Mr. Jameson is secretary of the Bureau of municipal research and reference, and this publication is No. 8 of the

municipal research series. The ordinances "are not presumed to be in the least the last word on the subject. They are intended as concrete suggestions to the cities of Texas. . . ." They "have been collected from far and wide, and represent the thought of many minds." The suggestions will be found useful in many cities outside the bounds of Texas. The effort to assist municipalities in the important task of conserving the public health is a timely and valuable one. Ordinances are suggested covering powers and duties of health officers,—care and production of milk, meats, bakeries, foods and food production, drugs, sewage, animals, stables, laundries, garbage, burials, etc., etc. A valuable feature is an appendix of ten pages of bibliography, together with samples of score cards for recording the results of inspections and investigations.

✱

Rapid Transit in Philadelphia.—*Statement of A. Merritt Taylor, Director of the Department of City Transit, City of Philadelphia.* Submitted to the Public Service Commission of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania at Harrisburg, July 26, 1915, in support of the application of Philadelphia for certificates of public convenience with relation to the construction by the city of certain subway and elevated railway structures. 15 pp.

This pamphlet is a succinct and readable account of the effort being made under the Blankenburg administration to solve the transportation problem in Philadelphia. It presents a summary of recent legislation empowering Philadelphia to establish adequate transportation facilities, a survey of the financial capacity of the city to undertake the work proposed and an outline of the investigations and proposals of the transit commissioner. The outline includes data on population, traffic lines and traffic characteristics, construction and operating costs, savings to be effected in time spent in travel, social and economic benefits, facilities for high speed travel, necessity for public aid, and advantages of early action on the part of the state commission and the city. There

are citations to appendices which "are too voluminous for publication."

✱

Philadelphia Sewage Report.—A comprehensive report on the collection and treatment of the sewage of Philadelphia has been made by George S. Webster, chief engineer of the bureau of surveys, assisted by George E. Datesman and W. L. Stevenson. The report is the result of several years of study of not only local needs, but also of sewage-disposal practice in American and foreign cities. The information given on the leading methods of sewage treatment now in use is valuable. The main object of the report is to present recommendations for a comprehensive plan of sewage disposal for Philadelphia, in place of present lack of plan. The recommendations made are for the construction of main collecting or intercepting sewers leading to three sites, located in different parts of the city. At the outset, coarse screens, grit chambers, and Imhoff or two-story sedimentation tanks would be built at two of the sites, but the works would be so designed that later on, as population increased, oxidation could be secured by means of sprinkling filters or otherwise. At the third site, similar clarification works are advised, except that in place of Imhoff tanks fine screens would be provided. The estimated cost of collecting sewers, pumping stations and treatment works, as outlined, is \$22,400,000, and for the farther treatment required later and up to 1950, \$12,000,000 more; but it is expected that the expenditure of the \$22,400,000 would be distributed over a considerable period. A significant feature of the plan recommended is that only partial treatment is contemplated, the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers being relied upon to dispose of the sewage by dilution and natural oxidation after some of the solid matters have been removed. This accords with present-day practice where large volumes of water not used for public supply are available.

✱

Civil Service Notes.—*Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the National Civil Serv-*

ice Reform League held at Chicago, December 3 and 4, 1914, with the reports and papers read and other matters.

This volume will be of service to those who are interested in civil service reform. There are some pages of particular interest to the student of municipal government, especially the address on "Some essential features of a model civil service law" by George T. Keyes, Secretary of the National civil service reform league, and the discussion following it (pp. 169-193). One criticism of the publication is that it has a very poor table of contents and no index. If the addition of an index is not feasible, a much more complete and illuminating table of contents would add appreciably to the usefulness of the material it contains. For example, Miss Jane Addams gave a very interesting address on "The humanitarian aspects of the merit system." The table of contents gives no hint whatever of her theme.

Twentieth Annual Report, Civil Service Commission. City of Chicago, Year 1914.

This publication contains a copy of the civil service act, the civil service rules, and both classified and alphabetical lists of the positions under civil service. Comment is wanting, no effort being made to make comparisons with previous years or to present any conclusions based on the operation of the commission in 1914.

RUSSELL M. STORY.

✱

Proceedings of the Joint Conventions of the American Association of Commercial Executives and the Central Association of Commercial Executives and the Organization of the National Association of Commercial Organizations Secretaries. 276 pp. —The local business bodies generally are feeling the need of merging their interests, and in city after city we find one strong body superseding and merging a congeries of smaller, and less effective ones, and now the secretaries of these bodies have reinforced and nationalized the tendency.

The meetings held in Cincinnati in September, 1914, constitute a long step forward and establish another precedent of substantial importance. Practically every one interested in public affairs is

conscious of the fact that we are over-organized, and those groups of men who appreciate this fact and take steps to overcome the tendency are entitled to a special meed of merit.

The new organization has entered on its new career under the leadership of Secretary S. Christy Mead, of the Merchants' association of New York, as president, and Secretary J. A. McKibben, of the Boston chamber of commerce, as secretary.

Over and above the full record of the merging of the two bodies, the present volume contains an abundance of material of interest and value to municipal workers generally. Among the subjects considered were the democracy of the business club, commercial organizations and civic affairs, what education is doing for secretarial efficiency and advertising cities.

✱

City Charters and General Laws.—The charter of the city of Richmond, Va. (first enacted in 1870), has recently been republished, with revisions to January 1, 1915. It is well indexed, both page and section references being given. The charter committee of a local civic association has begun a study of this charter with a view to its revision.

✱

Charter of the City and County of Denver.—*Framed by the Second Charter Convention, February 6, 1904, adopted by vote of the people, March 29, 1904, and all amendments thereof to and including February 17, 1914. Containing also Article XX of the Constitution of the state of Colorado with amendment to section six thereof.* Published by authority of the council of the city and county of Denver. A well prepared and thoroughly indexed volume that will be appreciated by any student of municipal government in Denver.

✱

Code of Franchises.—*Published by Direction of the Council of the City of Cincinnati,* by Arthur Espy, City Clerk. Contains the codification of the franchises and general ordinances relating to street railroads, interurban railroads and lighting companies. A volume that was published in recogni-

tion of the fact that before American cities can intelligently meet their public utility problems they must first ascertain the existing status of the utilities. This is the first step Cincinnati has taken, the code making a volume of 440 closely printed pages. It is fairly well indexed.

✱

A Digest of Police Cases.—Lieutenant Hannon, chief of the bureau of disciplinary

records of the New York police department, has prepared for the use of the commissioner a digest of all New York court decisions affecting the discipline of policemen.

✱

The last number of the *British Municipal Year Book* was that for the year 1914. The 1915 edition is suspended for the present owing to the war.

IV. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

General

FRANKFURT A. M., GERMANY. Stadt-bibliothek. Katalog der Abteilung Frankfurt. Bd. 1. 1914. 360 pp. 4°.

MARTIN, GEORGE R. Seattle: a world port and financial centre. (Bankers Magazine, September, 1915, pp. 313-335. Illus.)

POSADA, ADOLFO. La sociologica de la ciudad. (La Reforma Social, June, 1915, pp. 285-292.)

Air Conditioning

BOLTON, REGINALD P. The problem of city dust. 1915. 7 pp.

Repr. American Society of Heating and Ventilating Engineers. Transactions, 1915.

MANCHESTER, ENGLAND. Sanitary Committee. Report on the subject of air pollution. April, 1915. 42 pp. illus.

In reality the first annual report of the Air Pollution Advisory Board appointed in 1913. The board confines itself to research and propaganda in the field of smoke abatement.

WHIPPLE, MELVILLE C. The results of studies upon the dust and bacteria content of the air of cities. (American Journal of Public Health, August, 1915, pp. 725-737.)

Mr. Whipple is instructor in sanitary chemistry, Harvard University.

Billboards

ANON. Prevention of the beauty-destroying boardings. (Local Government Review, April, 1915, pp. 93-94.)

Building Inspection

MCGUIRE, LAURENCE M. D. Report by Mr. McGuire of the New York Factory Investigating Commission. 1915. 23 pp.

This is a state commission. Mr. McGuire's report is adverse to the recodification of the labor law proposed by the commission, especially that portion giving to the labor department jurisdiction over the construction of factory buildings. Mr. McGuire appends a protest against existing needless over-inspection of buildings, and contends that the values of real property in New York City have been seriously depreciated thereby. He illustrates his contention by a graph showing the tangle of multiplicity of inspection obtaining in New York City.

Citizenship

DUNN, ARTHUR WILLIAM. The trend of civic education. (Rept. of U. S. Commissioner of Education, 1914. Vol. 1, pp. 401-416.)

MAHONEY, JAMES. American citizenship in the educational surveys. (Rept. of U. S. Commissioner of Education, 1914. Vol. 1, pp. 563-596.)

A very good bibliography accompanies this monograph.

City Planning

ADAMS, THOMAS. Housing and town planning in Canada. (Town Planning Review, July, 1915, pp. 20-26.)

ADSHEAD, S. D. The urban land problem as it affects town planning. (Town Planning Review, July, 1915, pp. 44-56.)

ANON. Recent competitions. (Town Planning Review, July, 1915, pp. 31-44.)

Vancouver civic centre competition, 1 plate. Bradford city improvement competition, 10 plates. Competition for a suburb on the Corporate Estate, Doncaster, 2 plates. A Liverpool housing competition, 2 plates. Bromboro Port Estate Cottage competition.

BOSTWICK, ANDREW LINN. Municipal control of street planning. 4000 words. (Municipal Journal, July 29, 1915.)

Control of subdivision of outlying districts by municipal and state authorities; abstracts of laws of cities, states and Canadian provinces.

CALIFORNIA CONFERENCE ON CITY PLANNING. Bulletin. Edited by Charles Henry Cheney. No. 1. What city planning commissions can do. June, 1915. 22 pp. illus.

Price 50 cents. Address: California Conference on City Planning. Crocker Bldg., San Francisco. On p. 19, there is a list of American cities with city plan commissions.

CHENEY (CHARLES HENRY). City planning. (Pacific Municipalities, June, 1915, pp. 260-267; July, pp. 310-316.)

FINE ARTS FEDERATION OF NEW YORK. City planning in the proposed New York State constitution. Memorial presented to the Constitutional Convention upon the proposal in aid of city development. June 5, 1915. (Landscape Architecture, July, 1915, pp. 163-167.)

FORD, GEORGE B. The city controlling the development of private property. (Municipal Engineers Journal, May, 1915, pp. 76-123. illus.)

Construction and arrangement of buildings' height, setback and districting regulations; districting or zoning regulations; control of land subdivision, street plotting and setback regulations.

Text of discussion on paper is printed in full.

HORSFALL, T. C. Dwellings in Berlin: the King of Prussia's "Great refusal." (Town Planning Review, July, 1915, pp. 10-19.)

OBERTHUMMER, EUGEN. Amerikanische und Europäische Städte. (Deutsche Revue, July, 1915, pp. 85-92.)

This is the third of a series of articles reviewing the economic and social conditions which influence city planning in European and American cities. Dr. Oberthummer is an eminent German traveller and student of social conditions now resident in Vienna and attached to the Imperial University.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS. Notes for a study in city planning in Champaign-Urbana, by the 1913 and 1914 classes in civic design. 1915. 51 pp. illus.

WILLIAMS, FRANK B. City planning restrictions on private property. Second installment: Public utilities, building regulation, structural requirement, unity in planning and effect of planning on land values. 5000 words. (American City, July, 1915.)

WOMAN'S CIVIC LEAGUE, PASADENA, CALIF. Some preliminary suggestions for a "Pasadena Plan." 1915. 10 leaves. 4°.

Sold for 10 cents a copy.

County Government

DYER, WALTER A. Putting character into counties. (World's Work (Amer.), September, 1915, pp. 605-613.)

Prefatory editorial note in general on awakening of the county conscience, followed by two specific articles, viz., on a new kind of county hospital in Clay Co., Ia., and on the Van Wert Co., O., county library system.

HODGES, LE ROY. Bulletin 2. Reorganization of county government in Virginia. July 1, 1915. 2 leaves. 4°. (Southern Commercial Congress. Bull. 2.)

NEW YORK CITY. Commissioner of Accounts. Study of county government within the city of New York and a plan for its reorganization. Prepared for the Constitutional Convention, 1915, by the Commissioner of Accounts and the City Chamberlain. 1915. v. 1, l., 43pp. 23 folding tables.

Courts

HARLEY, HERBERT. Court organization for a metropolitan district. (American Political Science Review, August, 1915, pp. 507-518.)

Engineering

MUNICIPAL ENGINEERS JOURNAL. Vol. 1, no. 1, May, 1915.

Published monthly except July and August by The Municipal Engineers of the City of New York, 29 West 39th St., N. Y. City. Subscription, \$4.00 per year.

Finance

ANON. 'A comparison of the growth in population and finance of sixteen of the largest cities in California. (Pacific Municipalities, July, 1915, pp. 287-289.)

BEEBE, HOWARD F. What experience teaches as to advantages of paying municipal indebtedness by serial payments. (Trust companies, July, 1915, pp. 19-21.)

Mr. Beebe is manager of the municipal dept., Harris Forbes & Co., N. Y. City.

BRÜERE, HENRY. Report on corporate stock transactions [of New York City] 1906-1914, showing authorizations, rescindments and allotments, arranged by administrations, purposes and departments. August, 1915. 39 pp.

JAMES, H. Municipal debentures and sinking fund. (Canadian Municipal Journal, August, 1915, pp. 284, 288.)

NEW YORK CITY. Commissioner of Accounts. Report on office of city clerk and Board of Aldermen. Examination and audit for the period from January 1, 1910 to September 30, 1914. 12 pp.

—. Commissioner of Accounts. Report on a study of the effect of mandatory legislation upon the budget for the year 1915. xxii, 77 leaves. obl. 8°.

—. Finance Department. Report of the comptroller (dated May 25, 1915) relative to transfers of unencumbered balances of appropriations and special revenue bond accounts to and from the General Fund for the reduction of taxation. July 1, 1915. 84 pp.

—. Finance Department. Report on the expenditures of the city of New York in connection with the maintenance and operation of the Department of Education 1899 to 1914. June, 1915. 12 pp.

—. Finance Department. Report on the maintenance of the Department of Health of the City of New York in 1913 and 1914. August, 1915. 24 pp.

—. Finance Department. The City of New York. Summary and detailed statements of revenues and expenditures for the years 1910 to 1914, inclusive. Prepared for the constitutional convention, 1915, by the Department of Finance and the New York Bureau of Municipal

Research. 1915. xv, 225 pages in duplicate, and pp. 226-227.

PIERSON, ARTHUR N. Are municipal debts ever paid? (Real Estate Magazine, July, 1915, pp. 67-72.)

Address delivered at the first annual meeting of the Commercial, Agricultural and Civic Federation of the N. J. State Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Pierson is chairman of the Commission for the Survey of Municipal Financing of the N. J. House of Assembly.

PRENDERGAST, WILLIAM A. New municipal finance. 15 pp. 8°.

An address delivered before the Mayors' Conference of the State of New York, June 2, 1915, by the Comptroller of the City of New York.

SIMON, DR. E. Zur Finanzstatistik der deutschen Städte. (Deutsches Statistisches Centralblatt, Juni, 1915, pp. 133-135.)

Fires

ANON. The much-needed new fire alarm system for Manhattan is at last authorized. (The American Underwriter, July, 1915, pp. 11-14.)

Substance of Fire Commissioner Adamson's convincing argument of April 30, addressed by him to Mayor Mitchel as Chairman of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment.

BUNKER, HENRY C. Fire prevention work of the Cincinnati Fire Department. (American City, August, 1915, pp. 87-89.)

NATIONAL BOARD OF FIRE UNDERWRITERS. Pittsburgh's fire protection. 3000 words. (Fireman's Herald, July 24, 1915.)

—. Report on fire service in Pittsburgh. 4000 words. (Fire and Water Engineering, July 28, 1915.)

Housing

DINWIDDIE, EMILY WAYLAND. Management of wage-earners' dwellings in England. (American City, August, 1915, pp. 93-99.)

Jitney

ANON. The jitney bus situation. (Electric Traction, August, 1915, pp. 464-465.)

Synopsis of recent action on the part of various traction companies and public service commissions against the jitney enterprise.

— . Three views of the jitney. (American Municipalities, July, 1915, pp. 114-115.)

BOSTWICK, ANDREW L. The regulation of the jitney bus, a discussion of city ordinances. July, 1915. pp. 191-222. (St. Louis Public Library. Monthly Bulletin, n. s. vol. 13, no. 7. Municipal Reference No.)

BUREAU OF RAILWAY ECONOMICS, WASHINGTON, D. C. List of references on the jitneys and jitney regulation. July 15, 1915. 11 pp. 128 entries.

ILLINOIS. PUBLIC UTILITIES COMMISSION. Rating on jitneys. (Public Service, August, 1915, pp. 57-58.)

JOHNSON, J. J. The jitney situation. Growth and wane of the little bus craze in various cities. (Public Service, June, 1915, pp. 173-5.)

KING, C. L. The jitney bus. (American City, June, 1915, p. 480-489.)

LEE, E. GORDON. The jitney bus as a factor in public service. (Case and Comment, August, 1915, pp. 200-204.)

Markets

BRANCH, G. V. Retail public markets. 1915. iii, p. 167-184. Illus.

Extract from Yearbook U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1914.

HIGGINS, CHARLES H. Report and draft of regulations for fixtures to be constructed at Washington Market, Borough of Manhattan, New York City. Approved February, 1915. 56 pp.

PEASE, J. G. Market overt in the city of London. (Law Quarterly Review, July, 1915, pp. 270-288.)

Historico-legal inquiry into the mercantile customs of London.

Municipal Bonds

BAKER, WATTS & Co., BALTIMORE, MD. Municipal obligations. A practical guide to uniform and economical methods of financing. 1915. 59 pp.

Issued with a view of assisting in the correction of the inconsistent policy so often followed in the proceedings for issuing and marketing municipal bonds.

LONG, E. G. Canadian municipal bonds. Synopsis of laws governing issues. 51 pp.

Mr. Long is a member of the Ontario Bar and counsel for the Bond Dealers section of the Toronto Board of Trade. The booklet is distributed by Brent, Noxon & Co., of Toronto, Ont.

Municipal Employees

NEW YORK CITY. Commissioner of Accounts. Report on the bonding of city and county employees. February 25, 1915. 11 pp. 12°.

Municipal Experts

BELL, FREDERIC D. A proposed American Public Health Association course of study for health officials and others interested in public health work. (American Journal of Public Health, September, 1915, pp. 843-847.)

Municipal Forestry

See also under Public Works.

FRANCIS, HENRY R. Suggestions for proper procedure in systematic street tree planting for towns and cities of New York. 1915. 56 pp. Illus. (New York State College of Forestry. Bulletin, vol. 15, no. 4.)

NEW JERSEY. Forest Park Reservation Commission. Annual report (10) for year ending October 31, 1914. 1915. 79 pp.

Includes, on pp. 32-41, a special report on shade trees in the cities of New Jersey, and on pp. 34-35 a most useful tabulation of the shade tree commissions in the state, showing date of appointment of the commission, the amount of the appropriation for 1914, the lines of work followed, special needs of each commission and the names of the chief executives. This is the last report of the commission, as, by the law of 1915, the Department of Conservation and Development succeeds to all the powers and duties of the Forest Park Reservation Commission.

Municipal Government

ACADEMY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE. Proceedings. April, 1915. The government of the City of New York. 263 pp.

BRUÈRE, HENRY. Administrative reorganization and constructive work in the

government of the City of New York, 1914. May, 1915. 50 pp. Illus. Charts.

—. The reorganization of the Office of Chamberlain of New York City. 1915. 39 pp.

DAWLEY, F. F. Local self-government for municipalities. (American Municipalities, August, 1915, pp. 141-144.)

The Hon. Mr. Dawley is president of the Iowa State Bar Assoc.

HODGES, LEROY. Reorganization of municipal government in Virginia. July 15, 1915. 2 leaves. 4°. (Southern Commercial Congress. Bulletin 3.)

NEW YORK CITY. Board of Aldermen. Record of the work of the board, January 1, 1914 to July 6, 1915. 7 pp.

The city is well justified in publishing a "Record of the Work of the Board of Aldermen, January 1, 1914, to July 6, 1915." High lights in the record are furnished by the relinquishment of the licensing powers, the progress made with the building code, the taxicab reforms, the codification of ordinances and the dignified conduct of public celebrations. But there is a mass of minor things faithfully done. The work is as solid out of the limelight as in it.

—. Borough of Manhattan. Office of the President. Manhattan Borough advisory commissions appointed by Hon. Marcus M. Marks, President, 1914-1915. 20 pp. 24°.

—. Commissioner of Accounts. Government of the City of New York. A survey of its organization and functions. Prepared for the Constitutional Convention, 1915, by the Office of the Commissioner of Accounts, N. Y. City and New York Bureau of Municipal Research. New York: J. J. Little & Ives Co., 1915. xxxi, 1343 pp. 8°.

HOWE, J. ALBERT. The voter in command; municipal government in New Jersey. Newark, 1915. 62 pp. 12°.

TAX ASSOCIATION OF ALAMEDA COUNTY. Summary of a survey of the school department of Oakland, Calif. Its organization, business management, revenues and expenditures, with recommendations. August, 1915. 20 pp.

City Manager

UPSON, L. D. City manager plan in Ohio. (American Political Science Review, August, 1915, pp. 496-503.)

JAMES, HERMAN G. Some reflections on the city manager plan of government. (American Political Science Review, August, 1915, pp. 504-506.)

Commission Government

HODGES, LEROY. Reorganization for efficiency in government. June 15, 1915. 2 leaves. (Southern Commercial Congress. Bulletin 1.)

MILLS, QUINCY SHARPE. What New York City is doing under a commission form of government. (The Outlook. August 25, 1915, pp. 981-989.)

Municipal Home Rule

CITIZENS UNION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. An analysis and criticism of the home rule amendment proposed by the Committee on Cities submitted to the constitutional convention of 1915. 14 pp.

—. New York. A brief for municipal home rule and digest of proposals submitted to the Constitutional Convention of 1915. 37 pp.

ROBINSON, ALLAN. Home rule and municipal expenditures. (Real Estate Magazine, August, 1915, pp. 35-37.)

Mr. Robinson is president of the Allied Real Estate Interests. The article concerns the home rule proposals before the New York State Constitutional Convention.

Municipal Research Bureaus

Toronto

TORONTO, ONT. Bureau of Municipal Research. Annual report (1) for the year ending February 28, 1915. 16 pp.

New York City

This bureau, in co-operation with city departments, has recently presented two elaborate volumes to the New York State Constitutional Convention. They are entered in this Bibliography under Finance and Municipal Government, respectively.

Municipal Trading

SIMPSON, J. Legal powers of cities in municipal trading. (Municipal Engineering, July, 1915, pp. 26-27.)

Ice plants, plumbing, brick building, quarries, supplying electrical fixtures, selling fuel, maintaining moving picture theatres, dealing in real estate, selling liquor.

WEBB (SIDNEY AND BEATRICE). Can industry be organized by the national or municipal government? 32 pp. f°. (The New Statesman. State and municipal enterprise. Special supplement. May 8, 1915.)

This issue constitutes part iii of the draft report of the Committee on the Control of Industry of the Fabian Research Department. Drafts of parts 1 and 2, resp., which were published as supplements to the February 14, 1914, and May 20, 1914, numbers of The New Statesman did not concern the subject matter of this Bibliography. The present draft is given as submitted by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, except for the omission of part of chapter ii and of many of the bibliographical and other footnotes.

Pageants

CRAIG, ANNE THROOP. The poetic theme in the modern pageant. (Forum, September, 1915, pp. 348-355.)

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA. The pageant of Lincoln. Presented by the Lincoln Commercial Club and the Alumni Association of the University of Nebraska, June 4 and 5, 1915. 35 leaves. 8°.

Parks

COMEY, ARTHUR C. Graphic presentation of park service. (Landscape Architecture, July, 1915, pp. 185-187.)

Pensions

ANON. The insolvency of the municipal pension funds of New York City. (Economic World, August 14, 1915, p. 209.)

BURN, JOSEPH AND FRANK P. SYMONS. Practical points in connection with the formation and valuation of pension funds. (Journal Institute of Actuaries, July, 1915, pp. 193-254.)

Piers

ANON. Chicago municipal pier. 3600 words. illus. (Engineering News, July 29, 1915.)

Pier for freight and passenger service. Accommodations for recreation space and auditorium. Criticisms on design and construction.

Police

BAKER, NEWTON D. Law, police and social problems. (Atlantic Monthly, July, 1915, pp. 12-20.)

Statement of some of the difficulties of the police problem under American theory and practice.

WHITMAN, JOHN L. Jails, lockups and police stations. (Journ. Amer. Institute of Criminal Law, etc., July, 1915, pp. 240-248.)

Constitutes the report of a Special Committee on Jails, Lockups and Police Stations appointed at the last session of the American Prison Congress.

Port Development

BLACK, W. M. Relative duties of federal and of state or municipal officials in port development. (Professional memoirs, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., July-August, 1915, pp. 424-432.)

Colonel Black is of the Corps of Engineers, U. S. A.

BOOKER, ROY G. Making Charleston a great coal port. (Manufacturers' Record, July 22, 1915, pp. 42-43.)

CALIFORNIA. DEPARTMENT OF ENGINEERING. Biennial report (4) for the period ending November 30, 1914. 1914. 285 pp. illus.

Includes, on pp. 36-48, a valuable illustrated report of the work executed on the San Francisco harbor front. This property belongs to the state and the administration of it is vested in a Board of State Harbor Commissioners. The engineering and construction work is vested in the Department of Engineering which assigns one assistant state engineer and one engineering draughtsman to the Board of State Harbor Commissioners. The designs, shown in the above report, for the group of buildings abutting on the harbor front are very attractive and augur for San Francisco an exception from the usually dingy aspect of American harbor fronts.

NEW YORK CITY. Committee on Port and Terminal Facilities. Report of the secretary on the activities of the committee July 12, 1914 to date. June 15, 1915. 61 pp.

The need of making provision for New York's future commerce if the city is to hold that commerce is set before the Board of Estimate in this report.

Messrs. Stevens, Loree and Swain have estimated that the work may take two years and cost \$125,000

a year. The port and terminal committee asks that the undertaking be immediately approved by the Board of Estimate, at an expense of not more than \$125,000 a year.

SHELDON, PAUL H. Houston now ready for the ships of the world. (*Manufacturers Record*, July 1, 1915, p. 51.)

Mr. Sheldon is secretary of the Houston civil service commission. He writes of the completion of the ship channel from Houston to the sea and of the municipally owned wharves.

Public Health

EVANS, DR. W. A. Municipal health officers and venereal disease. (*American Journal of Public Health*, September, 1915, pp. 884-900.)

Doctor Evans is health editor of the *Chicago Tribune*.

FOX, CARROLL. Public health administration in Toledo. June, 1915. (*U. S. Public Health Service. Public Health Reports*, 1915, no. 26, pp. 1873-1932.)

— Same. (*U. S. Public Health Service. Reprint no. 284.*)

JAMESON, ROBERT M. Model health code for Texas cities. 1915. 95 pp. (*Bulletin of University of Texas*, no. 23. *Municipal Research series no. 8.*)

NEW YORK CITY. Health Department. Rules for all, employees. 1915. 59 pp. 12°.

Public Utilities

Accounting

CLOTHIER, C. C. Accounting systems for municipal water works. 1500 words. (*Fire and Water Engineering*, July 7, 1915.)

Gives outline of system and heads under which expenditures and receipts may be classified. Mr. Clothier is commissioner of public utilities, Guthrie, Okla.

Light and Power Cos.

DICKERMAN, J. C. Comparison of electric light and power rates. 5000 words. (*Power*, July 6, 1915.)

The rates for different classes of service from residence lighting to the wholesale consumer, in American cities, are compared by means of charts.

LINDEMANN, HUGO. Die Verstadtlichung der Berliner Elektrizitätswerke.

(*Kommunale Praxis*, May 22, 1915, C. 335-340; May 29, C. 352-356; June 5, C. 368-372; June 12, C. 384-388.)

Circumstances surrounding the municipalization of Berlin's electricity plant, authorized by the City Council in the course of its session of April 8, 1915.

MASSACHUSETTS. Board of Gas and Electric Light Commissioners. New legislation of especial interest to gas, electric and water companies and municipalities owning lighting plants. 1915. 61 pp.

Traction Cos.

ANON. Seattle's traction muddle. (*Electric Traction*, August, 1915, pp. 460-462.)

Account of the contentions between the City of Seattle and the Puget Sound Traction, Light and Power Co. The latter is the chief operator of traction lines in the Puget Sound country.

— Superior Avenue operating station, Cleveland Railway Co. (*Electric Traction*, August, 1915, pp. 429-432. illus.)

SIMÉON, J. Die Strassenbahnverkehrsmittel auf der Werkbundaustellung in Cöln 1914. (*Zeitschrift für Kleinbahnen*, May, 1915, pp. 297-308. illus.)

Mr. Siméon is Director of Street Railways in Aix-la-Chapelle.

TAYLOR, A. MERRITT. Statement submitted to the Public Service Commission of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, July 26, 1915, in support of application of the City of Philadelphia for a certificate of public convenience with relation to the construction by the city of certain subway and elevated railway structures. 15 pp.

WILCOX, DELOS F. Report in relation to the Queens County Water Co. June 1, 1915. 181 pp. maps. 8°.

The investigation which forms the subject-matter of this report originated in a private complaint relative to rates charged by the Queens Co. Water Co. Ultimately the inquiry developed into negotiations with the company with a view of acquiring for the City of New York such of its property as might be useful to the city. The report is made to the Department of Water Supply, Gas and Electricity of New York City.

Valuation

GILLETTE, H. P. Valuation of water works properties. 8500 words. (*Engineering and Contracting*, July 7, 1915.)

The third in a series of articles. This one covers appraisal of overhead costs.

Water Works

LOOMIS, E. L. Water works at Valparaiso, Ind. 3500 words. 7 illus. (Municipal Engineering, July, 1915.)

Complete description of the plant and of the development of the water company. Mr. Loomis is superintendent of the works.

Public Works

BEVERLY, MASS. Department of Public Works. Annual report (1), for 1914. 1915. 99 pp.

This department was created by ordinance of March 9, 1914. It consists of the following divisions: Street, Bridges, Sewer, Water, Park, Playground and Forestry.

Recreation

See also under Public Works

NEWARK, N. J. City Plan Commission. A public recreation system for Newark. 1915. 31 (1) pp. 2 leaves.

NICHOLS, DAVID W. Recreation features of the Hartford parks. (American City, August, 1915, pp. 101-104.)

Refuse Disposal

ANON. The disposal of refuse. (Local Government Review, July, 1915, pp. 167-170.)

Review of returns to a questionnaire sent by the British Local Government Board to the urban districts of London and Wales relative to arrangements for the storage, removal, and disposal of house refuse.

—. Garbage collection studies in Chicago. 2000 words. illus. (Engineering Record, July 10, 1915.)

Continued use of horses found justifiable. Data assembled for gasoline and electric trucks show that adoption of latter is warranted only for hauling after horse drawn carts have done the collecting.

—. New methods of odor elimination at garbage plants indicated by New York tests. 3000 words. (Engineering Record, July 3, 1915.)

—. Reduction of New York's garbage. 2500 words. illus. (Municipal Journal, July 8, 1915.)

Largest garbage reduction plant in the world. Devices for preventing odors.

—. Seattle's refuse destructors. 1500 words. (Municipal Journal, July 8, 1915.)

Reasons for dumping; one of them in favor of dumping on tidal flats. Importance of collection.

CONANT, E. R. Refuse disposal in southern cities with particular reference to Savannah, Ga., and its new incinerator. (American Journal of Public Health, September, 1915, pp. 904-917.)

Mr. Conant is chief engineer of Savannah. The paper closes with a tabulation of the methods of disposal in 29 southern cities.

GREELEY, SAMUEL A. Experiences with refuse collection and disposal with reference to odors. (American Journal of Public Health, September, 1915, pp. 835-837.)

HANSEN, PAUL. Present practice relating to city wastes collection and disposal. (Illinois Health News, June, 1915, pp. 85-93.)

NÜBLING, R. Klärschlammverarbeitung und Müllverbrennung in Verbindung mit Gaswerken. (Gesundheits-Ingenieur, May 29, 1915, pp. 253-258.)

OSBORN, IRWIN S. Elimination of odors, Barren Island disposal plants. Report to Committee on Street Cleaning, Board of Estimate and Apportionment, New York City. April 26, 1915. 68 pp.

Schools

KANSAS CITY, MO. Board of Directors of the School District. Statistical information regarding the city and the public school system. 1915. Illustrated folder.

Smoke Abatement

HENDERSON, J. W. Reducing smoke in Pittsburgh. 1500 words. 6 illus. (Power, August 3, 1915.)

Mr. Henderson is chief of the Pittsburgh Bureau of Smoke Regulations. Pittsburgh has recently made several changes in its smoke ordinances.

Sewerage

KÖNIG, J., and LACOUR, H. Die Reinigung städtischer Abwässer in Deutsch-

land nach den natürlichen biologischen Verfahren. With bibliography. (Landwirtschaftliche Jahrbücher. Bd. 47, pp. 477-572.)

Streets

ANON. Ornamental street lighting. (American Municipalities, August, 1915, pp. 137-140.)

—. Philadelphia street cleaning by contract. 1400 words. (Engineering News, July 1, 1915.)

Abstract of important specifications clauses.

DURHAM, HENRY WELLES. Some problems of street paving in large cities. (Municipal Engineers Journal, May, 1915, pp. 35, 75. illus.)

LYMAN, HAROLD W. The streets of Walla Walla. (Pacific Municipalities, July, 1915, pp. 290-292.)

MABAN, H. E. and H. E. BUTLER. Ornamental street lighting systems compared. 1200 words. 4 illus. (Electrical World, July 24, 1915.)

Relative advantages of the single unit and the cluster analyzed from the architectural and the engineering standpoint.

PAXTON, EDWARD T. Street paving in Texas. May, 1915. 23 pp.

University of Texas bulletin no. 26. Municipal research. Series 9.

PORTLAND, ORE. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE. Paving report of committee to whom was referred the matter of the public contracts which will be let relative to the bond issue recently passed for good roads. (Building and Engineering News, July 7, 1915, pp. 6-20.)

—. Same, in part. (Pacific Municipalities, July, 1915, pp. 293-309.)

SHAW, C. H. Street lighting at Sheboygan, Wis. 1700 words. illus. (Lighting Journal, July, 1915.)

Taxation

ANON. Houston plan of taxation unconstitutional. (Real Estate Magazine, June, 1915, pp. 41-48.)

NEW YORK CITY. Finance Department. Report on the apportionment of

state and county taxes. Together with suggested legislation for securing uniformity and equality in the assessment of real property. July, 1915. 39 pp.

SHORTT, ADAM. Municipal taxation in relation to speculative land values. (Canadian Municipal Journal, July, 1915, pp. 243-245.)

WILCOX, DELOS F. Taxation of public utilities. (American Municipalities, August, 1915, pp. 147-150.)

Ticket Brokerage Regulation

CHICAGO, ILL., PUBLIC LIBRARY. Municipal Reference Library. Speculation or scalping in amusement tickets. Analysis of municipal ordinances prohibiting or regulating the sale of tickets at advanced prices. May, 1915. 20 pp.

Its bulletin no. 5. Address 1005 City Hall, Chicago.

Traffic

DAVIS, ERNEST L. Reciprocal duty of automobile operator and pedestrian. (Case and Comment, August, 1915, pp. 185-191.)

NUESE. Grossverkehrswege durch Berlin. Verkehrsnot und Verkehrstauungen. Schnellbahnausblicke. (Zeitschrift für Kommunalwissenschaft, April-May, 1915, pp. 16-23.)

TOLL, ROGER W. Traffic investigation in Denver. (Electric Traction, August, 1915, pp. 433-441.)

Mr. Toll is chief engineer of the Denver Tramway Co., and the article is reprinted from the August, 1915, issue of The Tramway Bulletin, published monthly by the Denver Co.

U. S. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. Division of Bibliography. List of references on traffic control in cities. 1915.

List of 92 titles printed as manuscript.

Water Supply

BARTOW, EDWARD. Bureaus of water supplies. (American Journal of Public Health, September, 1915, pp. 871-874.)

Mr. Bartow is Director of the Illinois State Water Survey. Advocates control by one bureau of the hygienic as well as of the engineering branch of a city's water supply.

ST. LOUIS, MO. WATER COMMISSIONER. Annual report for the year ending April 1, 1915. 196, 63 pp. pls., maps, etc.

As already explained, it is not the intention, in this department, regularly to note all annual reports. Annual reports, other than the first or final report, are noted when, as in the case of this St. Louis report, they contain exceptional material. The present report is notable in that it records, in a most complete and very attractive form, the realization

of the dreams and desires of every chief engineer and water commissioner of St. Louis water works for the past half century. The new filter plant, the largest of its type in the world, was opened on May 15, 1915. Aside from a detailed, amply illustrated account of this plant, there is on p. 173 a table showing yearly revenue derived from water rates in St. Louis from first introduction of water into the city to date, viz., 1835-1914. On p. 193 there is a table showing condition of water works revenue since adoption of scheme and charter, viz., 1879-1915.

Would you be in touch with the

SOCIAL SERVICE WORK

in the Episcopal Church and beyond?

THEN READ, EACH WEEK

The Living Church

Editor in chief, FREDERIC COOK MOREHOUSE.

Editor of Social Service Department, CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF (Secretary of the National Municipal League).

The Living Church was among the pioneers—if not the very first—among the religious press to specialize in studies and news of social advance.

Subscription Price \$2.50 per year

To the Clergy, \$2.00 per year

Address

THE LIVING CHURCH

Milwaukee, Wis.

Some Volumes on Social Questions

The Clergy and Social Service.

By W. MOORE EDE, D.D., Dean of Worcester, England. Cloth, 90 cts.; by mail 96 cts.

Six Lectures, treating of Equipment for Social Work, Reading, Preaching, Speaking, Agencies for Social Redemption, Charity, etc.

Socialism in Church History.

By CONRAD NOEL. Cloth, \$1.75; by mail \$1.85.

"Entirely apart from the opinions expressed, Mr. Noel makes an excellent, brief résumé of the history of the subject."—*Providence Journal*.

"The reader brought up to New England church traditions will find special interest in Mr. Noel's incidental historical study of Puritanism and its Calvinistic ancestry."—*Springfield Republican*.

"It cannot but be illuminating to all who are unfamiliar with the real content of the Christian faith and its inevitable end."—*Boston Herald*.

Christian Social Union Handbooks.

Edited by HENRY SCOTT HOLLAND, D.D. Cloth, 80 cts.; by mail 87 cts. Paper, 60 cts.; by mail 67 cts.

Our Neighbors. By H. SCOTT HOLLAND, D.D.

The Influence of Christianity Upon Social and Political Ideas. By A. J. CARLYLE, D.Litt.

Christian Citizenship. By W. E. CHADWICK, D.D.

The Boy and His Work. By SPENCER J. GIBB.

Municipal Work from a Christian Standpoint. By A. W. JEPHSON, M.A.

The Church and Citizenship Series.

No. 1. **The Social Obligations of a Christian.** By Rt. Rev. CHARLES GORE, D.D. And **The Attitude of the Church Towards Social Problems.** By Rev. G. W. HOCKLEY. 15 cts.; by mail 16 cts.

The two Addresses in one pamphlet by the eminent writers named above.

No. 2. **Sweated Labour.** By R. LATTER, with a Preface by the Bishop of Hull. 15 cts.; by mail 16 cts. A pamphlet, as the title indicates, on the "Wages Question."

PUBLISHED BY

THE YOUNG CHURCHMAN CO.

Milwaukee, Wis.

National Municipal Review

Vol. IV, No. 2

April, 1915

Total No. 14

CONTENTS

Children in the Cities	Mrs. Florence Kelley.	197
Woman's Work for the City	Mary Ritter Beard...	204
Women in Office	Jane Campbell.....	211
Probation—A Practical Help to the Delinquent	Hon. James A. Collins	217
The City's Housekeeping	Hugh Molleson Foster	224
Public Health Versus the Noise Nuisance	Imogen B. Oakley....	231
The Movement for City Street Trees—A Survey	Carl Rannwart.....	238
Municipal Bonds as Popular Investments	Howard F. Beebe.....	245
Municipal Revenues in Ohio	S. Gale Lowrie.....	254

Reading's Revision of Assessments, Hon. Ira W. Stratton, 262; Comment on the Dayton Charter, Lent D. Upson, 266; What Glasgow Does for its Poor, Harvey N. Shepard, 272; Emergency Relief in Philadelphia, W. Arthur Warner, 276; War and Housing, John Ihlder, 279; A Community Secretary, Graham Taylor, 281; Voters' Leagues and Their Work, Robert E. Cushman, 286; Motor Bus Developments and Possibilities, William Richard Littleton, 290.

For detailed table of contents of the departments of Notes and Events and Publications, see page 2 of the cover.

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

RAILROAD SQUARE, CONCORD, N. H.

EDITORIAL OFFICE, NORTH AMERICAN BUILDING
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

National Municipal Review

Vol. IV, No. 4 October, 1915 Total No. 16

CONTENTS

The Crisis in Public Service Regulation in New York	Delos F. Wilcox, Ph.D.	547
German Cities under Pressure of War	Prof. Robert C. Brooks	564
Graft Prosecutions: 1914-1915	Alice M. Holden	572
The Home of the Street Urchin	Bernard J. Newman	587
New Sources of City Revenue	Robert Murray Haig, Ph.D.	594
The Jitney Bus and Its Future	William J. Locke	604
The Rapid Increase in Municipal Expenditure, Prof. Ralph E. George, 611; The Singletax and American Municipalities, Samuel Danziger, 616; A New Policy Towards Drunks and Vagrants, Max Watson, 621; The Danger in a Multitude of Organizations, J. Lionberger Davis, 626; The Suppression of the Smoke Nuisance, E. P. Roberts, 632; The New York Constitutional Convention, Charles A. Beard, 637; Municipal Affairs in Nashville, 1915, St. George L. Sioussat, 646.		

For detailed table of contents of the departments of Notes and Events
and Publications, see page 2 of the cover.

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE
RAILROAD SQUARE, CONCORD, N. H.
EDITORIAL OFFICE, NORTH AMERICAN BUILDING
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

